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A POLITICAL HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

SINCE 1814

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

CHARLES SEIGNOBOS

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

31470

IN TWO VOLUMES

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A POLITICAL HISTORY
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PART I.—*continued.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE UNDER THE ABSOLUTIST SYSTEM.

The Austrian Empire in 1814.—Austria was little affected by the French Revolution. Its government had struggled against Napoleon without attempting to reform its internal organization; it had contented itself with becoming bankrupt, by the Declaration of 1811, which reduced the value of its paper money. Its territory was not thrown topsy-turvy like that of the German states; Austria alone, in exchange for its outlying provinces (Briesgau and Belgium), received adjoining provinces, the archbishopric of Salzburg, and the domains of Venice, which included the whole Adriatic coast.

After the fall of the German Empire the Emperor took the new title of Emperor of Austria (1806); all his states were for the first time united under a collective name. But this empire did not form a nation; it remained a conglomeration of peoples placed side by side under the same sovereign. To understand the history of Austria it is, therefore, necessary to describe the various peoples which compose it. These are ancient nations or remnants of nations which, before being united under a common government, had had nothing in common, and which have since preserved their distinctive tongues and administrative forms. Historically they fall into four groups, omitting the Italians in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom (already noticed in chap. xi.):

1. The hereditary countries of the region of the Alps, grouped about the Archduchy of Austria under various titles (11 provinces);

2. The countries of the *Crown of Bohemia*, composed of three ancient provinces: Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia (the small bit of Silesia around Troppau which still remains to Austria);

3. The Polish Kingdom of Galicia, with its annex, Bukovina, a Roumanian country taken from Moldavia;

4. The countries of the *Crown of St. Stephen*, comprising four states: the Kingdom of Hungary, the principality of Transyl-

vania, the Croatian Kingdom of Croatia and Sclavonia, and the province of Servia. (The Kingdom of Dalmatia, formerly a possession of Venice, makes a part of the same region and the same people as the Croatian group, but by government it belongs to the countries of the Vienna group.)

These groups are themselves only historical formations, conglomerations of disunited nations. This is the cause of the complex nature of Austrian politics.

The countries of group 1 were essentially German. In Vienna, the Archduchy of Austria, and the northern provinces the German language prevails. But a Slavic population occupied the south, Carniola, a bit of Styria and Carinthia, Goertz, Gradisca, and Istria; in the two latter provinces and in Trieste, however, Italian was the language of the cities.

The Bohemian group was mainly Slavic (Czechs), but there was a large number of German colonists, especially in the cities, and the northwest part of Bohemia which touches Germany had been almost entirely Germanized.

The Galician group was Slavic, but of two different races. Polish Catholics occupied the whole west, while in the east, formerly taken from the Russians, they formed only the aristocracy. The majority in the east were Ruthenians; these had formerly been orthodox, but now belonged to the United Greek Church, and were affiliated with Catholicism, while preserving their Slavic ceremony and their married priests. Bukovina had a Roumanian population.

The group of the Crown of St. Stephen was the most heterogeneous of all. The chief state, the Kingdom of Hungary, was Magyar, but with many German colonies, scattered over the plains, especially in the west; and an almost solid Slavic population, the Slovacks, in the northwest, adjoining Moravia. Transylvania was composed of orthodox Roumanian peasants, under two ruling peoples: the Magyars from Hungary and Protestant *German* colonists (Saxons), who had been established in the central part of the country for several centuries.—Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia had a population of Slavic (Croat) Catholics. The Italians, however, predominated at that time in the coast cities, and in the east Servian refugees who had remained orthodox.

There was not at that time the rivalry in language and religion that now prevails; but the differences were enough to prevent any feeling of unity among the inhabitants of the Empire and even

among neighbouring peoples in the same region. The government had given up trying to unite them under a common administration. Metternich rejected the "plan of simple fusion" which Joseph II. had tried. The Crown of St. Stephen had preserved its own government distinct from the monarchy; *dualism* was the fundamental law of the Empire. The other groups, the hereditary states, Bohemia and Galicia, were directly subject to the government at Vienna, but retained remnants of a separate administration.

The Slavs formed the majority of the population of the Empire, but a submissive and unorganized majority. They were cut into two branches, north and south, separated by the Germans and Magyars in the valley of the Danube, and divided into six national groups: (1) Czechs and Slovacks, (2) Poles, (3) Ruthenians, in the north; (4) Slovenians, (5) Croats, (6) Servians, in the south. They were ruled by an aristocracy and a government representing a minority of more advanced civilization or superior organization, the Germans in the west and the Magyars in the east.

The Germans were the preponderant force. Vienna, the capital, was a German city; the imperial family and court were German; German was the language of the government and the army. This system was the outcome of family policy, at a time when there was almost no thought of nationalities; the birth of patriotism would make it impracticable.

Metternich's System.—The internal government remained the same as before the Revolution. The Emperor exercised his absolute authority, with the aid of ministers and councils. His chief minister was Metternich, a member of a noble family of western Germany, first of all a diplomatist; he had charge of foreign affairs, but by his personal influence he directed internal policy also.

Francis II., in spite of the familiar aspect given by his simple manners and his Vienna dialect, was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of absolutism, very firm against any sort of opposition; as described by his uncle Joseph II., he was conservative because of his "indifference, indecision, and fear of being bored." He abhorred the idea of reform, comparing his empire to an old house which would crumble away if he should try to repair it. Metternich, a man of society, a brilliant conversationalist, sceptical, well read, smiling, and affable, had erected his conservative feelings into a theory; he talked continually of fighting the Revo-

lution, which meant practically to prevent any change and avoid any form of popular control. He fought the Revolution in Europe by maintaining absolute governments; he fought it in Austria by preserving the old *régime*.

The central government at Vienna was a medley of ministers and governing boards, or collective ministries, some of them having jurisdiction over the whole empire, some over a group of provinces. The former chief council, the *Haus-Hof-Staats-kanzlei*, managed foreign affairs, police, and finance; but there were special chancelleries for Bohemia and Galicia, Austria and Illyria, and the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom; the special councils (Hofstelle) of Hungary, Transylvania, the Aulic Council of War, the Aulic Chamber, and the general board of audit were preserved. In order to make this machinery work together, the Emperor, in 1814, had ordered "conferences" between the heads of departments and certain confidential councillors. It was not until later, under his successor, that the *Conference*, a sort of ministerial council, was organized. The Council of State, which was reorganized in 1814, was reduced to a consultative function.

These bodies, all interfering with one another, and unable to decide a question without endless writing and formality, conducted affairs with proverbial slowness, leaving to the Emperor the responsibility of deciding the smallest details. And all these official managers managed nothing at all. The government, having neither accounts to render nor public opinion to contend with, worked secretly and arbitrarily. No one could get a clear view of the public finances. After 1814 there was always a deficit, but this deficit was not acknowledged; it was always covered with remnants of loans made to defray special expenses.

This administration of scribbling formalists shrunk from coming to any decision. Each referred a measure to another, without daring to settle anything. When Stadion, governor of Dalmatia, required regulations for the communes of his province, he had to enact them on his own responsibility; this gained him the reputation of a hot-headed man.

Officially, society remained aristocratic. Nobles were exempt from military service and common courts; they alone had the right to acquire noble lands and fill high offices. On their own estates they retained the seigniorial powers of police, justice, and the regulation of industry. Peasants were subject to seigniorial justice, seigniorial dues, and corvée on the lands of the seigneur. Provincial administration remained divided between

government officials and the provincial estates, which were charged with the apportionment of the taxes and the levies of recruits. Estates were even re-established in those provinces where they had fallen into disuse. But the old estates did not represent the people and had no power. Except in the Tyrol, they were composed almost entirely of nobles, a few cities being represented (4 in Bohemia, 1 in Galicia). The estates, furthermore, were convoked only to hear and approve the official proposals relating to taxes. The decree which re-established the estates in Galicia in 1817 recommended "the avoidance of anything that might produce the illusion that the taxes depended on their consent." The session was reduced to a solemn and silent meeting, followed by a banquet; often it lasted only one day.

An example is given, however, of a concession made to the provincial estates: the Estates of Bohemia, in 1825, prevailed on the government, which was asking a reform in land taxation, to maintain the inequality in favour of the nobles; this was done, it is said, to compensate Prince Windischgraetz for the insult given him at the Congress of Verona by the Russian Grand Duke Constantine.

As the great aim of this government was to prevent any form of agitation, the government took measures to deprive the people of any temptation to concern themselves with public affairs, to talk or even think of them. This was the task assigned to the censorship and the secret police. Censorship, a branch of police, was applied not only to the theatres, but to newspapers and books; being independent of any restrictions, the censor was omnipotent. No political work was published in Austria. The introduction of foreign books of a liberal nature, such as Hallam, Augustin Thierry, Sismondi, and even Broussais' medical books was forbidden. The police gave personal attention to foreigners, professors, students, and even office-holders; they had spies in the lecture rooms, and had librarians report the books borrowed by each professor. Every form of association was strictly forbidden. A number of young men from Switzerland, most of whom were teachers, had in 1817 founded an historico-pedagogic society which they had soon dissolved: in 1819 they were arrested, held in prison ten months and sent out of the country; the police report said that their statutes resembled those of the Free Masons. In 1825 the police arrested the members of a comic society, writers, artists, and musicians, who were amusing themselves with drafting passports with grotesque names. Aus-

trian subjects could not leave the Empire without a passport and the government would grant only a few of them.

The Catholic Church was still the state church. The clergy remained strictly dependent on the government; Metternich and the Emperor held to *Josephism*—that is, the supremacy of the lay sovereign. But religion remained compulsory for subjects; students were compelled to go to mass and confession; many bought confessional letters from comrades; these letters had among students a variable price like stocks or bonds. The schools were under clerical inspection. Non-Catholics were tolerated (since Joseph II.), but legally excluded from public office; they had to pay for the privilege of acquiring landed property, the right of citizenship, membership in a trade guild, or a university degree. This set of measures was called the *Metternich system*, but the name is but a poor definition for a system of paternal oppression, slow and very negligent, like the Viennese officials charged with enforcing it; it was a tendency rather than a system.

The government forbade its subjects any thought of public interests, but allowed them to amuse themselves freely. Vienna acquired the reputation of a capital given over to amusements.

National Opposition in Hungary.—There still remained in the constitution of the Kingdom of Hungary a remnant of the *dualism* recognised by Maria Theresa. The Emperor was still King of Hungary and obliged to preserve the constitution. Joseph II. had brought on an insurrection by trying to reform it, but it had been re-established in 1791; Francis had publicly praised it. In 1820, when he came to Pesth to take part in a military review, he gave a discourse in Latin, the official language of the Hungarian government. "*Totus mundus stultisat et relictis antiquis suis legibus, constitutiones imaginarias quærit. Vos constitutionem a majoribus acceptam illæsam habetis; amatis illam et ego illam amo et conservabo et ad heredes transmittam.*"

But while protesting his affection for this traditional constitution, the Emperor had no thought of applying it. The constitution of Hungary, which since the Middle Ages had been imposed on the Kings by the Magyar aristocracy, established a central assembly, the Diet, to govern the kingdom in harmony with the King and 55 local assemblies, one in each county (*comitat*). This system resembled England's Parliament and county assemblies.

The Diet was to meet at least once in three years; but since 1812 the government had not convoked it. In the absence of the

Diet the county assemblies resisted absolutism in the name of the constitution. In 1815, when the government had made a direct appeal to them, ordering them to raise subsidies and recruits, the county assemblies decreed that they were unable to act without being so ordered by the Diet, and forbade officials to obey the call; the Emperor quashed these decrees as an offence against his royal powers. This time the counties yielded. But after 1820, when the government ordered a levy of recruits or payment of taxes in coin (instead of paper), the county assemblies refused again and demanded a meeting of the Diet. The government sent administrators and commissioners to assess the land tax and levy the soldiers. The officials of the county made only a passive resistance: they ceased to exercise their functions; but the royal commissioners, being unable to discover either the records, the seals, or the keys of the archives, could not levy the taxes for want of information. The Emperor finally yielded; under pretext of wanting to have his wife crowned in Hungary, he convoked the Diet at Presburg in 1825.

After 1830 a political agitation was set on foot in Hungary, and reform parties began to show themselves in the Diet and in the county assemblies. The movement was at once liberal and national. The Diet which met in 1832 demanded a more completely Hungarian government: more frequent visits by the Emperor to Hungary, the holding of the Diet, not at Presburg, a German city on the border, but at Pesth, the Magyar capital, in the heart of the country,—also the use of Magyar as the official language in place of Latin. On national policy all the Magyars were agreed; on liberal reforms they were divided. A liberal party was organized, which proposed to reform the constitution and society, as well as a conservative party which wished to maintain the old *régime* with an exclusively Magyar government.

Society in Hungary was still organized as in the Middle Ages, divided into two classes unequal before the law: the nobles, the only full citizens, exempt from taxation of any kind, owing no military service but in the general call to arms (*insurrectio*); the peasants, tenants of the nobility, burdened with rents and corvées, paying all the taxes, furnishing all the recruits for the army, and possessing no political rights whatever. The nobles alone constituted the political nation; there were, however, a great many of them; many lived in the country, as poor and uneducated as the peasantry.

The administration of the county belonged to the nobles. At certain intervals, all the nobles of the county met in *congregatio* to make *reparatio*, that is, to elect officers, judges, administrators, and financial employees; the elections were tumultuous, with banquets, sprees, fights between partisans of the various candidates, vote by acclamation, and the successful candidate borne off in triumph. A lively description of an election is given by one of the liberal chiefs, Eötvös, in "Der Dorfnotar" (the village notary), a romance of customs (translated into German).

The Diet of the kingdom was composed of two *Tables*: the *Table of Magnates*, formed of great nobles holding their seats by virtue of hereditary right; the *Table of Estates*, formed of elective deputies, 110 nobles (2 for each county) and 2 representatives in all for all the cities; also delegates from the Diet of the Kingdom of Croatia.

This mechanism was similar to that of the English Lords and Commons. But its working was disorderly. Jumbled together in the same hall sat the deputies from the counties and the cities, delegates from the Croatian Diet, prothonotaries, representatives from the chapters and convents, proxies for absent *Magnates*, not to mention spectators and even ladies; some had no vote; the two deputies of a county had but one vote between them. There was no regular voting; instead the old Middle-Age maxim was applied: *Vota non numerantur sed ponderantur*. There was not even an actual vote taken, for the deputies, being obliged to await instructions from their constituents, could give only provisional answers.

The Diet was not a real parliament, and found no really centralized ministry to co-operate with. Government policy was decided, on the one hand, at Vienna under the influence of the court; on the other, in the *comitat* assemblies, which were ruled by the opinions of the country nobles. The liberal party desired at once to reform society by abolishing the *corvée*, rents, and inequality of taxation, and to establish a true representative system by extending the voting qualification to employees, teachers, lawyers, notaries, physicians, clergymen, merchants, and manufacturers, and by giving each deputy an individual vote.

The Reform Diet lasted 40 months (1832-36) and held 470 meetings. The liberals presented their grievances and demanded liberty of the press, but the *Magnates*, by agreement with the government, defeated almost all the reform projects. They did, however, adopt a measure that was regarded as an important prece-

dent: the suspension bridge over the Danube at Pesth was to be a toll bridge, and nobles were to pay for crossing as well as commons; this was the first action taken against the nobles' privilege of exemption from taxes.

Meanwhile, in Transylvania, the Magyars were working to effect a union between Transylvania and Hungary. The Estates of Transylvania, convoked in 1834 for the first time since 1809, struggled against the government, refused to recognise members of the *gubernium* as not elected, constituted themselves without them, declared themselves responsible to their electors, and had their journals printed in spite of the prohibition against publishing them. The government had them dissolved and set up a military government.

Political life now awoke in Hungary. Kossuth, a young lawyer, secretary to a deputy, established the first Magyar political paper. He was arrested, held two years in prison, then condemned, but pardoned later. His reputation was made; he became one of the leaders of the opposition. He demanded a Diet for three years, to sit annually at Pesth, and the abolition of seigniorial rights. There was a Diet in 1839, and a Diet from 1842 to 1844; the *Magnates* again rejected the reforms, and the counties instructed their deputies to maintain the nobles' exemption from taxes.

The government had at least yielded on the language question; Magyar was declared the language for laws in 1836, for the administration in 1840, for the government and education in 1844. Kossuth, possessing a strong and sonorous voice, with lively gestures, had become very popular as an orator; he formed a democratic and provincial party which proposed to abolish privileges and create a Magyar government without diminishing the power of the county assemblies. The centralizing liberals considered it necessary to diminish the influence of the counties, which supported the system of privileges, and to increase the power of the Diet. Their program in 1847, drafted by Deák, demanded reform of taxation and control of taxes by the Diet. "We think it unjust that Hungary's interests should be subordinated to those of the hereditary states, and we will no longer consent to the sacrifice of our rights to administrative unity, which too readily passes for unity of the monarchy."

National Opposition by the Slavs.—In the Slavic countries, which were less strongly organized than the Hungarian, the national opposition was weaker and more scattered. It was de-

veloped independently by three peoples: Poles, Czechs, and Croats.

1. The Polish movement had its centre outside of the Empire, at Cracow, which was organized as an aristocratic republic since 1815; there the plots to re-establish ancient Poland were drawn up. In 1831 the Austrian government sent an army of occupation into Cracow, then evacuated it. These conspiracies were, however, directed less against the Austrian province of Galicia than against the Prussian and Russian possessions in Poland.

2. The Czech movement was set on foot at Prague and was chiefly literary. Since the downfall of the Czech nation in 1620, German had become the language, not only of the government, but of the university, and of all educated society, the only language of literature and science; Czech was regarded as a patois fit only for the peasantry and the illiterate. In 1819 a number of Czech patriots found in a convent at Königinhof a manuscript containing Czech national anthems of the thirteenth century (now regarded as a forgery). A small group of learned and scholarly men began then to work for the revival of national pride, by reminding the Czechs of the literature they had possessed and the great nation they had once been; they established Czech reviews and clubs; the patriotic historian Palacky wrote a history of Bohemia.

This Czech movement, unlike the other national movements in Austria, extended its influence beyond a mere local agitation. The Czech patriots interested themselves principally in questions of langauge; they were impressed with the multitude of people speaking the Slavic tongue, and began to consider the Slavs a superior race, the most numerous and most gifted, which would rule the world if it united and trusted in its force. They wished to see it united in a single body; the Czechs, being the most civilized, directed the movement of uniting all the Slavs into one family. This was the origin of *Panslavism.* It was a vague idea; the Czechs, while trying to formulate it, expected to be supported by the only independent Slavic nation, the Russian Empire. The literary opposition devoted its energies against the German race and the Austrian government. Its hostility was shown most distinctly in protestations against German officials in Bohemia and against the use of German in administration and in schools; for lack of means of action, it accomplished no practical reform.

3 Among the southern Slavs the opposition was in the hands of the only Slavic people that had preserved a remnant of a

national organization, the Croats; its centre was at Agram, and it was at once both literary and political. Patriots began to study Croatian antiquities and laboured to build up a Croatian literature. Gaj founded the *Illyrian National Gazette* in 1836. The Croats, like the Czechs, desired to lead their brother Slavs; they dreamed of a union of southern Slavs speaking the Croatian tongue, and an *Illyrian* kingdom comprising Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia. Croatia already had its national administration, its governor, the Ban of Croatia, its provincial Estates. But it was at the same time subject to two governments, that of Hungary and that of the Empire. The Croatian national party thus confronted both the Austrian government and the Magyar national movement. The Hungarian Diet, in 1843, adopted Magyar in place of Latin; the Croatian deputies wished to speak Latin still, but whenever a Croatian began a speech with the hitherto accustomed formula, *Excellentissime domine*, a general uproar drowned his voice. The Magyars carried the day; the Austrian government formally recognised Magyar as the only language in the Diet, and ordered the *Illyrian Gazette* to change its name to *Croat-Slavonic-Dalmatian Gazette*. The Croats retorted (1845) by declaring Croat the only language of the provincial estates at Agram, and withdrawing from the Turopoles, rustic Magyar nobles established in Croatia, the right of taking part in the Estates.

Liberal German Opposition.—In the German provinces, where the government was German, the opposition was not national, but simply liberal. The nobles, citizens, and students wanted a constitutional system with freedom of the press. They had taken their ideas from foreign newspapers and political books, especially those of France and southern Germany. Such publications were prohibited and should have been stopped at the frontier. But the censorship was relaxed. Francis II., who died in 1835, had been succeeded by his son Ferdinand, a weak-minded man, and incapable of managing his government. Metternich, as he grew older, was becoming more and more obstinate and indolent. The absolutist machine still existed, but it did not work well, for lack of a head; the prohibitions were maintained, but the government agents had become more tolerant and permitted things that they were charged to forbid. The director of police in Prague, who had received orders to forbid balls during Advent, turned his back to the dancers that he might not see them. The police permitted the printing and circulation of

pamphlets unfavourable to the government and the selling of forbidden books. Publishers issued forbidden papers as covers to prayer-books or cook-books.

In like manner, in the commercial world, customs duties that were almost prohibitory were retained; but the officials permitted foreign wares to be smuggled in. Until 1844 the duties collected were ridiculous; according to official statistics, only one silk garment had entered the country within three years.

Education still excluded all modern subjects; in the ecclesiastical colleges only a smattering of Latin was taught; in the universities practically nothing but law. But many Austrians secured themselves modern instruction in private—incoherent, incomplete, and superficial instruction whose influence may still be seen in the present generation. Austrian opposition, sprung from contact with foreign ideas, was an imitation of the liberal oppositions in France and Germany.

The Revolution of 1848.—The government was opposed by two parties: the liberals, who reproached it with being arbitrary; and the nationalists, who chafed under a foreign language and administration. The malcontents took advantage of the general movement in 1848 to organize a liberal and national revolution like that in Germany; but while in Germany the national revolution consisted in the union of small states into one great nation, in Austria it tended toward the separation of a great state into small nations.

A first isolated revolt was made in Galicia as early as 1846. The Polish nobles tried to re-establish the independence of Poland. The government did not even take the trouble to fight them; they simply turned upon them their own peasants, the Ruthenians; the peasants arrested the Polish conspirators and gave them over to the Austrian authorities. The government then seized the opportunity to occupy the Republic of Cracow and annex it to Galicia, with the consent of Prussia and Russia (1847). This was the last Polish state to lose its independence.

The general movement began in March, 1848, in both of the ruling nations at the same time, Germany and Hungary, and almost simultaneously in the Slavic countries.

In Austria the news of the revolution in France was enough to break up the government. Archduchess Sophia became alarmed and demanded the dismissal of Metternich, who was very unpopular; the archdukes and ministers signified their approval.

The Viennese liberals began to show their dissatisfaction. In the absence of any sort of political body to transmit their wishes to the government, groups of every nature took the initiative: publishers, the Industrial Society, the Juridico-political Reading Club, and students. Petitions were presented calling for liberty in education, religion, speech, and press, publicity of the budget, and periodic representation. Censorship and police ceased to perform their office. The ministerial conference became alarmed and declared itself ready to convoke a delegation of the Estates of the different provinces to make terms with a government committee.

The revolution came suddenly with a single riot; the demoralized government made no effort to defend itself. The Estates of Lower Austria had just met. On March 14 the students met in the courtyard before the hall where the Estates sat; a young Jewish doctor mounted upon the roof of the well and cried: "Long live liberty!" The members of the Estates tried to parley through the window, then sent a delegation of 12 members. A report was circulated that the soldiers were coming; the mob invaded the hall. The Estates went to the imperial palace to present the demands; while they were gone the soldiers opened fire. The mob cried: "Down with Metternich! Down with the soldiers!" Metternich made light of this incident; it was, he said, a stroke concerted by certain Jews, Poles, and Frenchmen. But the other members of the Conference were alarmed, and, wishing to calm the crowd, finally obliged Metternich to resign.

The revolution was the work of students and citizens of Vienna; it was they who assumed power. They armed themselves and formed the *Academic Legion* and the national guard, which in the month of May organized the "Central Committee for the Defence of Popular Rights." This committee governed Vienna. The Imperial government dared refuse it nothing; it declared the press free from restriction, convoked the deputies (March 15), and promulgated a constitution built on the Belgian model (April 25). It then tried to dissolve the central committee. But the populace forced it to convoke an assembly elected by universal suffrage to draft a constitution (May 15). Then the Emperor fled to the Tyrol with his family. The ministers were at Vienna without troops (the soldiers had been sent to Italy); they wished to dissolve the Academic Legion; but the students and workingmen built barricades, and a "committee of citizens"

was established to maintain order and popular rights. The ministers became alarmed and consented to retain the Legion and to intrust the police of the city to the committee. This now became the "Committee of Security." Then Archduke John, who had been sent to Vienna to fill the Emperor's place, formed a new ministry, with a majority of liberals.

The Assembly, elected by universal suffrage and comprising deputies from all parts of the Empire except Hungary, met at Vienna July 22. There were 92 peasant deputies. They spoke in several tongues, and measures had to be translated before a vote was taken. The Germans composed the left, the Czechs the right. A son of a peasant proposed to declare all seigniorial rights abolished. After a month of discussion (73 amendments, 159 questions), the Assembly unanimously voted to abolish the seigniorial corvée, rents, and courts, and suppressed all distinction between nobles and commons. This was the principal result of the revolution of 1848.

The Revolution in Hungary.—In Hungary, on March 3, the Diet, acting under the influence of a speech by Kossuth, had sent an address to the Emperor asking for a constitution. Soon clubs and a committee of safety were constituted, which the Diet could not resist. It then began to vote the reforms demanded by the liberal party; freedom of the press, equal taxes and abolition of seigniorial rights. The government of Vienna, unable to contest the matter, granted the Magyars all that they asked: first a Hungarian ministry which was composed of the leaders of the three parties, conservative, liberal, and democratic (March 22); then the removal of the Diet from Presburg to Pesth, annual sessions of the Diet, and the abolition of the censorship. Next it granted the Hungarian Palatine permission to exercise all the powers of a King. The Hungarian ministry moved to Pesth on June 26; the constituent assembly for Hungary, elected in accordance with a new electoral law, met on July 2; and henceforth the Hungarian government was conducted as a sovereign state independent of the rest of the Empire. It forbade its officials to receive orders from Vienna, established a Hungarian army with the national colours of Hungary, a paper currency, and a Hungarian loan; it sent out Hungarian ambassadors and announced that it would not aid Austria in a war against German unity (August 3).

The Revolution in the Slav Countries.—In the Slav countries four independent national movements were developed.

In Galicia, a slight Polish insurrection at Cracow (April 26) was checked by a cannonade of the city.

In Bohemia, the Czech patriots of Prague began with an address to the Emperor, demanding equality between Czechs and Germans, and the fusion of the provincial assemblies of the three ancient provinces (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia). They secured the convocation of constituent provincial Estates (April 8), and appointed a national committee to prepare for the elections to these Estates. The agitation increased; the Czech national guards left the Germans to form a Slav militia; people began to wear the national dress and to fight the Germans in the streets. Then, under the pretext that the minister at Vienna was controlled by revolutionists, the Bohemian governor decided to form a provisional government with the leaders of the Czech party (May 30). To begin a realization of the idea of panslavism, the Czechs convoked a general congress of Slavs at Prague. Palacky opened it on June 2; 340 members, of whom 237 were Czechs, took part in it. Speeches in praise of the Slav race were made in various languages, in Russian by Bakounine, in Polish by Liébelt, and in Servian by Zach; they were hardly understood. The congress was preparing a manifesto to the peoples of Europe when it was broken up by the government.

Among the southern Slavs the national movement was directed against the Magyars. The Croats first asked the Emperor to appoint Jellachich, a Croatian colonel, as *Ban* (governor) of Croatia, and obtained his consent. The Hungarian government voted to depose him. Jellachich replied by convoking at Agram the Estates of the triple Croat-Slavonic-Dalmatian kingdom in accordance with the wishes of Croatian patriots. But the Dalmatians sent their deputies to Vienna, and the Slavonians to Pesth; only the Croat deputies came; they demanded a southern Slav kingdom with a separate ministry. The government was dissatisfied, and sent an order to Jellachich to appear before the Emperor at Innsbruck and explain his conduct. Jellachich, at Innsbruck, regained the confidence of the government by addressing to the southern Slavs who were fighting in the Italian army a manifesto, urging them to serve their Emperor faithfully. The government after that avoided upholding the Magyars against the Croats.

The Servians rebelled against the Hungarian government. In May their religious leader, the Metropolitan, had convoked at Carlowitz an assembly which decided to establish a national gov-

ernment and to join the Croats. They then appointed a national committee, opened the war again, and drove out the Hungarians.

Even the Roumanians, peasants possessing no political interests, revolted in Transylvania against their Magyar and German masters; they held a great mass-meeting (of 40,000 men, it is said) and demanded equality with the other nations. To oppose this movement by the Roumanian peasants, the Germans made common cause with the Magyars, and the provincial Estates voted the union of Transylvania and Hungary (May 30).

Meanwhile the Italian provinces of the Empire revolted and joined the kingdom of Sardinia (see p. 340).

The Civil War and the Repression.—The Austrian government, deficient in information and incapable of firm and decisive action, had become stupefied by the revolution; it had resigned its powers to the liberal and national parties, of whose weakness it knew nothing. When it finally suspected the truth, it began to seize its powers back by force. It asked aid from the army, which hated the revolutionists, and from the Slavic peoples, as enemies to the Germans and Magyars. Two generals managed the work of putting down the revolt; Radetzky, commander of the army in Italy, and Prince Windischgraetz, head of all the other Austrian armies. The central government gave them a sort of dictatorship to get the territory from the local revolutionary governments; the revolutionists made armed resistance, and the revolution ended in civil war. This gave the opportunity for the government to crush the liberal and national parties and re-establish absolutism. The Slavs aided the government through their hatred of the ruling nations, Germans and Magyars, who formed the revolutionary parties.

The conquest began with Bohemia. The Czechs detested the head of the army in Bohemia, Windischgraetz, as an aristocrat and absolutist; a mass-meeting agreed to ask the authorities at Vienna to recall him; then the Czech militia at Prague made a riot before his house; they shot through the windows, and killed the prince's wife (June 12). There was fighting in the streets of Prague. Windischgraetz first withdrew on the request of the government at Vienna, then returned, bombarded the city, and put down the Czech revolt (June 17). The Panslavic Congress broke up, and the provincial Estates did not meet again. Bohemia was placed under martial law. Windischgraetz, vanquisher of the revolution, gained the confidence of the court, which

secretly appointed him commander-in-chief of all the imperial troops.

In Italy, Radetzky, after conquering the Sardinians, won back Lombardy (July, 1848).

The government felt itself strong enough to break with the Hungarian revolutionists. It restored to the Palatine his full powers, refused to sanction the military and financial measures passed by the Diet, ordered a cessation of hostilities against the Servians, and declared that the concessions made to Hungary would not be allowed without the consent of the other nations of the Empire. In his manifesto of June 10 the Emperor had sworn to uphold the honour of the crown of Hungary. The Magyar national party demanded that this oath should be kept, and the Diet sent a delegation of 100 members to beg the Emperor to come to Pesth. But the Austrian government had decided to use the Slavs against the Magyars; Jellachich, restored to his powers, marched upon Pesth with 40,000 Croats. The Palatine met Jellachich on the border of Lake Balaton and proposed an interview on board of his steamship. Jellachich refused, because "the machinery of the boat might, against the Prince's will, be stronger than his word of honour." The Palatine resigned his powers and left Hungary (September 24). Meanwhile, at Pesth the democratic party gained the upper hand and the Diet appointed a committee to defend the country (September 22); Kossuth, one of the six members of the committee, became the actual head of the Hungarian government.

The government at Vienna, taking part openly against the Magyars, forbade the Hungarian troops to attack Jellachich, and sent an Austrian general, Lambert, to take command of all the troops in Hungary; his appointment was not countersigned by any of the Hungarian ministers, which rendered it void according to the new constitution. The Diet at Pesth declared it high treason if Lambert should accept this illegal nomination. Lambert went to Pesth to ask the signature of the first minister, failed to get it, was overtaken by the mob, and assassinated (September 28). Jellachich, in withdrawing, lost 10,000 men, who were surrounded and taken by the Magyar army.

This was the rupture. The government at Vienna chose as the King's lieutenant in Hungary the Magyar's enemy, Jellachich, declared Hungary in a state of war, and the Hungarian Diet dissolved (October 3). It then ordered the Viennese troops to march upon Hungary.

The war against the Magyars brought on civil war in the German countries. There had already been trouble between the German deputies and those of the Slavic countries who controlled a majority in the Assembly; trouble between the ministry and the democratic party. The committee of safety had been dissolved (August 3), but the agitation in the streets and clubs continued. A central committee was formed against the democratic societies. The defiant attitude of the Viennese liberals against the Magyar aristocrats was abandoned when Kossuth and the democrats took charge of affairs in Hungary. The Germans and Magyars, hitherto bitter rivals, joined forces against their common enemies, the government and the Slavs.

A Viennese regiment received the order to march upon Hungary and refused to obey it; Latour, minister of war, in order to enforce the march, sent a Slavic regiment from Galicia; a battle ensued between the soldiers; the suburban workingmen joined the rebels and helped them to victory. A mob surrounded Latour's house, where the ministry was holding a meeting, called him out, and hanged him (October 6). The Emperor fled during the night to seek the protection of the Slavs at Olmütz in Moravia; thence an imperial manifesto summoned the Austrian peoples to arms against the revolution.

Then began war against both the German democrats in Vienna and the Magyars in Hungary. The campaign against Vienna was short. Jellachich arrived from the east with his Croat army, Windischgraetz from the north with his Bohemian army (October 26); the democratic societies, which were now the only power, tried to defend Vienna by means of a *garde mobile;* but on October 30, on the advice of the commander-in-chief, the municipal council decided to arrange a capitulation. Just then the Hungarian army, coming to aid Vienna, arrived before the city and attacked Jellachich; the defenders inside the city began to fight again. The Hungarians were driven back, however; Windischgraetz fired on the city, then took armed possession of it. He declared Vienna under martial law. Councils of war had the democratic chiefs shot, and with them Blum, one of the German envoys sent by the Frankfort parliament to please the liberals. Vienna remained under a reign of terror in the hands of soldiers and spies.

The Austrian Assembly was transferred to Slavic territory, at Kremsier near Olmütz, and reopened on November 22. The government restored its absolute system; the new ministry of

November 21, under Prince Schwartzenberg, a conservative and man of the world, busied the Assembly with discussions of the general principles of a constitution that was never voted.

The Hungarian War.—The campaign against Hungary was much longer. The Hungarians formed an organized nation, and this was an actual war between two governments and two armies.

The Austrian government quashed the Diet's decrees, declared Kossuth and his associates guilty of high treason, and conferred on Windischgraetz the command over all Hungary (November). Then, feeling itself restrained by the Emperor's oath to respect the Constitution of Hungary, it got rid of it through a trick: the oath was considered as personally taken by Ferdinand; he was made to abdicate (December 2), and his nephew, Francis Joseph, succeeded him. The new Emperor, bound by no oath, would be free to violate the constitution. In December, 1848, his armies invaded Hungary through Galicia, Moravia, the Danube, and Styria. The Diet and the committee of defence, feeling themselves in danger in Pesth, withdrew to Debreczin, behind the marshes of the Theiss (January 4, 1849). The Hungarian armies, after two months of manœuvring, under a Polish commander, Dembinski, were driven behind the Theiss.

The Hungarians were relieved by a diversion: a Pole, named Bem, one of the defenders of Vienna, collected an army in Transylvania, and reconquered the country from the Roumanian militia. The Servians were discontented with the Constitution of March 4, 1849, and ceased fighting the Hungarians.

The Hungarian army, increased to 50,000 men, took the offensive, crossed the Theiss, drove back Windischgraetz, and freed almost the whole of Hungary. The Diet, led by Kossuth, declared Hungary separated from the Austrian monarchy; it then proclaimed the Hungarian Republic, with Kossuth as President.

The Emperor, having failed in his attempt to employ the Austrian Slavs against Hungary, appealed to the foreign Slavs. He asked help from the Tsar of Russia against the "party of the European revolution." Nicholas, out of hatred to the revolution, consented, and it was a Russian army that was charged with the conquest of Hungary. Paskiéwitch entered with 80,000 men through the Carpathians (June 14). The Hungarian armies moved back to Arad; the principal army (23,000 men) preferred to surrender to Russia rather than to Austria; it capitulated at Vilagos (August 13). Kossuth and those who

could escape fled to Turkey. The war of repression shed much blood. The councils of war condemned the officers to be hanged and the first minister to be shot. Many patriots were imprisoned, incorporated in the Austrian army, or exiled.

The Absolutist Restoration of 1849.—The revolution of 1848 had been democratic, constitutional, and nationalist. The victorious government restored its absolutist and centralized system.

In Austria, the Constituent Assembly, moved to Kremsier, had divided into a German liberal Left and a Czech ministerial Right; it was to consider a liberal plan of constitution, drafted by a committee on March 2. But all the former powers, the court, the nobles, officers, and clergy, demanded that the minstry should put a stop to what they called "a parliamentary game." The ministry suddenly presented a constitution, granted by the government, which even the Right found too conservative (March 6). The next day the deputies found their hall occupied, and in the streets an imperial manifesto declaring the Diet to be dissolved "for having placed itself in contradiction with the actual conditions of the monarchy." A constitution granted by the government and dated March 4 was published for the whole empire; it declared all the nations of the monarchy equal among themselves, and established a constitutional system, with a Diet composed of deputies from all the provinces, and a responsible ministry. This constitution of March 4, 1849, was never applied, and on December 31, 1851, an imperial decree declared it abrogated in the name "of the unity of the Empire and monarchical principles."

In Hungary, the government declared that the nation, by its late revolt, had sacrificed its former constitution and must come under the common Constitution of March 4. In reality it regarded neither one nor the other; it restored its old system of absolutism and centralization. All the annexations to the kingdom, Transylvania, Croatia, and the Servian country, were detached and organized under special administrations; the kingdom itself was cut into five governments. There was no longer a Diet nor county assemblies; Hungary was governed by officials sent from Vienna, Germans and especially Czechs.

The reaction of 1849 was not a simple restoration of the system overturned in 1848. A part of the *régime* destroyed by the revolution could not be restored and a part was transformed in order to resist revolutionary movements more successfully.

What remained destroyed was the aristocratic system. Seigniorial rights were not restored, nor unequal taxation, nor provincial administration by the nobility. While the reorganization of the government was being discussed, Windischgraetz wrote: "A monarchy cannot exist without its nobility; it is useless to seek other elements to support the monarchical principle." Schwartzenberg replied: "How desirable it would be to let the aristocratic element predominate in the new form of our state, no one realizes more than I. But as forms can take life and force only through individuals, I see no way to realize this desire. I do not know in our class a dozen men of sufficient political intelligence and provided with the necessary knowledge to intrust to them an important part of the power without fearing that they would soon lose it. . . Democracy must be combatted . . . but the government alone can do it; for an ally as weak as our aristocracy unfortunately injures the cause more than it serves it." In default of the aristocracy, the power was intrusted to office-holders.

The paternal and negligent despotism of Metternich's time had neither foreseen nor prevented the revolution. The restoration government became systematically absolutist. The ministers concentrated their powers and governed directly. The laws passed by the assemblies of 1848 were abolished, and the special measures taken by the government during the civil war remained in force; Austria was under a "provisional government" for ten years.

The government systematically punished all the nations that had taken part in the revolution. An imperial manifesto announced the intention of "uniting in one great state all the countries and races of the monarchy." In place of the former dualism a centralized military system was to be created; the kingdoms, especially Hungary, became provinces under a single administration. The centre was at Vienna, in German territory; thus the policy of centralization led to the establishment of German as the universal language of the Empire, and to the giving of the administration into the hands of German officials. The Czechs, who had been government allies against the revolution, had their share of power also.

The Concordat of 1855.—Schwartzenberg had died in 1852, and the first minister was now Baron Zach, a liberal in the year 1848, but converted to absolutism. He was supported by the enemies of the revolution, the officials and clergy.

Until 1848 Austria had preserved *Josephism;* since Joseph II. the Church had been subordinate to the state; the prelates were appointed by the government and watched like officials of the government. The court was religious, but devoutness was only employed as a means of advancement for employees and officers. Zach saw in the clergy a natural ally against liberal and national revolution. The general assembly of the 32 Austrian bishops at Vienna had condemned political liberty as "impious" and declared that nationality was only a relic of paganism, because the different tongues arose from the tower of Babel.

The absolutist government allied itself with the clergy. It granted Catholicism the privilege of being the state religion and recognised in the bishops an official power over believers. To make this system definite, the government signed with the Pope the Concordat of 1855. This was the official fall of Josephism.

The previous ecclesiastical organization rested on the state's absolute right to regulate its relations with the Church, according to secular law. The Concordat offered the inverse principle: "The Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion will always exercise all over the Empire the rights and privileges to which it is entitled by divine institution and canon law" (Article 1). This meant to recognise in the Church the right of regulating its relations with the state according to ecclesiastical law; the situation was reversed.

The government consequently recognised in the bishops not only the liberty of direct communication with the Holy See and of publishing acts of ecclesiastical power, without state authorization, but the power to oversee the schools,* exercise the censorship of books,† regulate marriage affairs, and to ask the secular power to apply the disciplinary punishments of the Church. The Holy See consented, through tolerance, "considering the times," to recognise civil and criminal jurisdiction of the courts over ecclesiastics, but the clerks must always bear their punishment

* "All instruction of Catholic youth in all schools, whether public or private, shall conform to the doctrine of Catholicism. The bishops, by virtue of the rights proper to their office, shall direct the education of youth in all places of instruction, whether public or private, and shall see that in all branches of education there is nothing contrary to the Catholic religion and morals."

† "The bishops shall freely exercise their proper authority in subjecting to censorship all books which threaten religion and morals, and forbid believers to read them; but the government shall take the necessary measures to prevent the publication of such books."

in cells apart from the lay prisoners." The Church had the right to acquire landed property, the ownership of which was declared inviolable.

The measures taken at the conference between the bishops and government delegates (1856) gave the bishops full authority over their clergy, the faithful, and Church schools and possessions.

Thus was completed the centralized absolutist and ecclesiastical system, which lasted until 1859. All political life ceased in Austria for ten years. The finances remained in disorder; between 1847 and 1857 the debt increased by a billion florins; it was raised to 2,400,000,000. In spite of the increase in taxes, the yearly deficit grew larger; in 1859 it amounted to 280,000,000 florins.

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* On the character given to this bibl. see note to bibl. of chap. xii.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA BEFORE WILLIAM I.

ALTHOUGH the Kingdom of Prussia had nearly all of its territory within the German Confederation, it has had a development so distinct as to deserve separate study, and has played so important a part as to make it necessary to record its history apart from that of the other states.

Prussian Reforms during the Wars of Napoleon.—Unlike the rest of Germany, Prussia had not passed under the domination or influence of France. Though conquered, dismembered, forced to pay a war contribution, and occupied by the armies of Napoleon, she had remained an independent state. King Frederick William III. had refused to enter the Confederation of the Rhine, and had kept intact his sovereign power. Yet his kingdom emerged from this crisis revolutionized. In order to make head against Napoleon, he had himself transformed the whole internal organization of Prussia.

The Prussian state, as its founders, Frederick William I. and Frederick II., had fashioned it, was an absolute military monarchy, aristocratic and bureaucratic, governed by colleges of directors (a species of collective ministries) and administered by royal officers without any control on the part of the people. Society was divided into three hereditary classes—nobles, citizens, and peasants; the Prussian code of laws, the *Landrecht*, promulgated in 1794, recognised this division. All civil and military offices were reserved for nobles. The peasants were subject to the authority of the titled landowners; every noble had the right of justice and police over the inhabitants of his domain.

The disaster of 1806 which, rightly or wrongly, was attributed to this organization, led the King to try the experiment of a new system. The reformers who proposed it to him were not Prussian subjects, but Germans from districts subject to the French: two Hanoverians (Scharnhorst and Hardenberg) and a baron of the Empire (Stein); the old Prussian bureaucrats regarded them with contempt, and even treated them as Jacobins. As for the

King himself, it was only with hesitations, restrictions, and backward steps that he allowed their plans to go into effect. Stein was dismissed in January, 1807, taken back in October, 1807, and finally dismissed in November, 1808. It was not till June, 1810, that Hardenberg was given control. Except in the army, the reforms, opposed by the nobles and the official class, were left uncompleted. They were sufficient, however, to lift Prussia out of her old *régime*.

The innovators, though treated in Prussia as revolutionists, appealed to wholly different principles from those of the French revolutionists. In France popular sovereignty and the rights of the citizens were put at the front; a system was to be organized in which the French were to be free and equal, because they had a *right* to be so. In Prussia the King kept full sovereignty, making the reforms on his own exclusive authority, by royal ordinances, and speaking to his subjects only of their *duty*. The object in view was not to better the condition of the people, but to demand of them a new effort to rescue the state from the ruin caused by the French invasion. Yet these two movements, setting out from opposite principles, made appeal to the same feeling,—love of country,—and they led in practice to analogous reforms. In order to render the subjects more capable of contributing to the needs of the state, the King decided to remove the trammels on their industry by giving them individual liberty and equality; and in order to interest them in public affairs, he was led to give them a share in managing them. As was said by Hardenberg, it was "a revolution in the best sense," come from above, a "royal night of the 4th of August," a "monarchical government with democratic principles."

The general direction of affairs, up to that time vaguely shared between ministerial boards, was rearranged in 1810, on the English and French model; there were to be five ministers, each at the head of a service (Interior, Finances, Foreign Affairs, War, and Justice), with a chancellor as prime minister and president of the council. The chancellor, the ministers, and certain high military officers, meeting as a Cabinet, were to consider general questions; the King retained in his own hands the power of sovereign decision.

The subjects, up to that time without part in public affairs, were now called on to take a hand, if not in government, at least in administration. In each city a council was instituted, elected by the inhabitants owning property or in receipt of a certain in-

come; also an executive committee (*Magistrat*), some of whose members were elected for a long term and received salaries. The Council was empowered to control the city expenditures and to impose the taxes. The state supervision was confined to auditing their accounts and approving their regulations. At that time of paternal government, this autonomy granted to the cities of Prussia caused them to be nicknamed "little republics."

Stein proposed to reform the administration of the provinces in the same way, by intrusting it to elected representatives; but he could not bring the King to consent. The "Chamber of War and the Domain," which had held the control of each province, was replaced by a more regularly organized Board of Government (*Regierung*), divided into two sections, the one administrative and the other economic, but composed wholly of royal officers.

Hardenberg, who went on with the reforms, was content to copy French institutions. He created in 1812 a *gendarmerie* (mounted police) whose superior officers were to aid the administrative officials. The reform of the administration of the Circles (*Kreise*) was promulgated in 1812, but was not put in force.

Hardenberg also imitated the new French methods of taxation. He copied the license fees and the personal tax, secularized church property, sold crown lands, levied taxes on luxuries (horses, carriages, liveried servants).

The most far-reaching of these reforms was the abolition of the official classification of the people. In principle it was contained in the decree of 1807, which permitted nobles to enter on professional and business careers, and citizens and peasants to change their status of birth. The full liberty of industry and residence followed in 1808: "No man shall be restricted in the enjoyment of his property, his civil rights, and his liberty further than is necessary for the general welfare of the state; law and administration have no other mission than the removal of all obstacles to the free development of the faculties and powers of the citizens."

Industrial liberty was completed by a fiscal measure. The decree fixing the new taxes on trades and occupations abolished the monopolies of the industrial corporations and towns; whoever paid the license fee was free to follow the occupation everywhere (1810).

The emancipation of the peasants, a more complicated operation, had been promised and begun, but remained incomplete.

There were two classes of peasants, those on the Royal estates and those on the estates of the nobles. Both classes were merely tenants and, in law, "subjects," that is to say, attached to the soil and bound to perform services for the owner. The peasants on the Crown lands had, in fact, become, as early as the end of the eighteenth century, true hereditary landowners, freed from the obligations of serfdom. The peasants on the noble estates, however, had remained in their previous condition, attached to the soil, and subject to seigniorial *corvée* and the duty of rendering services. The King had shrunk from emancipating them, out of respect for the property rights of the nobles.

The French administration of the new Grand Duchy of Warsaw, created in 1807, by emancipating the Polish serfs, compelled Prussia to emancipate her own. The Prussian government at first thought only of emancipating those in the provinces bordering on Poland; but the King, on the advice of Stein, extended the measure to his whole kingdom. It abolished "hereditary subjection" (*Erbunterthänigkeit*), and declared all the people to be personally free (1807). But the peasants still remained under the police and criminal jurisdiction of the seigneurs; the regulation of 1810 on domestic servants allowed the master to inflict moderate chastisement on the members of his household.

After the emancipation, it was necessary to regulate the new condition of the peasantry. On the crown lands the peasants were given full ownership, paying therefor an annual charge. The same principle was applied in 1811 to the estates of the nobles, but in a manner unfavourable to the peasants; they were compelled to pay for their liberty by giving a part of their land to the seigneur.*

In this period of half-measures, there was only one complete reform—that of the army. This was the work of the "Committee on Military Reorganization" presided over by Scharnhorst, son of a soldier who had risen to be a general. It adopted squarely the principle of universal service: "All the inhabitants

*The lands occupied by the serfs had belonged in law to the seigneurs; in return for his right of using the land the serf had owed various services to the legal owner. Now that the services were to cease, it would seem only reasonable that some compensation should be made to the nobles for the loss. It may be that the decree of 1811 went too far in ordering that one-third of these lands should be assigned to the nobles and only two-thirds to the peasants. But the principle seems unimpeachable, unless we are to hold that the French Revolution, in confiscating the seigniorial rights, furnished an example to be followed everywhere.—TR.

of the state are its defenders by birth." All able-bodied men were to become soldiers. As the treaty with Napoleon limited the Prussian army to 42,000 men, this little army was to be made a school in which the recruits should pass only enough time to learn their drill and then make room for others. Thus the short-term service came into the practice of armies; the old professional soldiers were replaced by young men, who pass through the army before beginning active life, and are ready to return to it in case of war; the officers alone are soldiers by profession. A national militia is incorporated into the nucleus of a standing army. This reform was not borrowed from France; it was neither the requisition of the revolution nor the conscription of Napoleon; both the idea and the name, *Landwehr*, Defence of the Country, were derived from the Middle Ages. But the application led to a democratic revolution. Instead of allowing educated young men of the noble and middle class to purchase exemption or supply substitutes, the law required them to perform the service in person, the object being to raise the moral standard of the force. But with such men in the ranks, the old methods of military discipline became impossible; so the whippings and beatings formerly in use were forbidden. Officers were to be appointed and promoted only after passing examination. The nobles continued to be preferred as officers, but they were required to furnish evidence of their fitness by passing examinations.

Political Life in Prussia.—After the War of Liberation a new series of reforms began. The reorganized kingdom of 1807 to 1815 had been cut down by Napoleon to four provinces: Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, and Prussia. The Congress of Vienna, besides enlarging Pomerania, added four new provinces —Westphalia, the Rhine Province, Saxony, and Posen. The Prussian statesmen would have preferred to annex the whole Kingdom of Saxony, which would have formed, with the old possessions, a compact territory (see p. 5). As it emerged from the deliberations of the Congress, the kingdom remained a heterogeneous patchwork which did not even form a continuous territory. It lay in two main divisions: in the east, the old kingdom, enlarged by the addition of Posen and the province of Saxony, and itself cut up into pieces separated from each other by the possessions of other princes; in the west the provinces of Westphalia and the Rhine. These latter were not only separated from the rest of the kingdom by the whole width of Hanover,

but also differed from the rest in their social constitution and in their administrative institutions.

The east remained aristocratic and rural. The land was divided into about 15,000 knightly estates (Rittergüter), and into about 25,000 little communes, each consisting of a wretched village, having hardly 200 inhabitants on the average in the most easterly parts. Except in the cities, which were now self-governed, the region was still subject to the nobles, who had official authority over the peasants, the right of police, and of imposing lighter punishments, who also still kept the rights of patrons over the Church.

The west, revolutionized by the French occupation, had become democratic; every legal privilege had vanished. In the Rhine Province it could hardly be said there were nobles any more; social leadership there, as in France, belonged to the wealthy middle class—manufacturers, merchants, landowners, and lawyers. The municipal system was also that of France: city and country had the same form of organization. The communes, about 4500 in number, were much larger than in the east, and more capable of self-government; each had at its head a *Bürgermeister*, appointed by the government from among its leading men. The Rhine Province had, further, French law, the civil law of the *Code Napoléon*, public trials, and the jury in criminal cases.

This straggling and motley kingdom had in all less than 12,000,000 of inhabitants, and, except in the west, a soil naturally poor. To keep it in the position of a great power required a constant struggle and a rigid economy.

The work of reorganization, suspended during the war of liberation, was resumed after Waterloo. The reforms adopted during the crisis were provisional, incomplete, and limited to the four old provinces. It was now necessary to decide which of these reforms should be retained, how they should be completed, and whether they should be extended to the new provinces. The decision depended on the King, and consequently on the influences which should gain the ascendancy over him.

As Prussia had neither a parliament nor a political press, her whole political life was centred in the court and the high officers surrounding the King. Now, there was at this time a great division of opinion in this circle of advisers. An old-*régime* party condemned as revolutionary the reforms already made: some wished to restore the uncontrolled sway of the royal officers;

others to restore the authority of the nobles in the rural districts. In open opposition to these absolutist aristocrats was a group of supporters of the reforms. These, too, were divided in opinion. Some wanted a liberal constitutional system of the Tory or Louis XVIII. pattern (Humboldt, Schön, Vincke); others (Stein, Niebuhr, Gneisenau) wanted a system founded on historic rights. Hardenberg, grown old and indolent, wavered between these various schemes.

The King, drawn this way and that by conflicting influences, adopted contradictory decisions, or resigned himself to compromises, or oftener turned the matter over to committee after committee without reaching any decision. The work of reorganization proceeded very slowly therefore. The ordinance regarding city administration was not published till 1831; the regulations touching freedom of labour appeared in 1845; the provisions regarding compensations for the emancipation of the serfs were not completed in 1850; the reform of the land tax was only finished in 1861; the local administration of the *Circles* and the rural communes was not fully organized until 1872 and 1891. The revision of the old laws (*Landrecht*), on which a committee was still labouring in 1847, has never been finished. The bulk of the work actually accomplished was done in the years 1815 to 1823; the history of it is so intricate that I can only describe the results.

The Absolutist Reforms (1814-23).—The mainspring of the government continued to be the new creation, the *Ministry*. By its side the Council of State remained—a deliberative body made up of royal princes, ministers, and high dignitaries. According to the Ordinance of 1817, it was to give advice on changes of law and regulations, on conflicts between ministers, and on all matters submitted to it by the King. It seemed likely at first to become the chief organ of the government, but after 1827 the King almost ceased to consult it. After Hardenberg died, in 1822, no new chancellor was appointed. In practice the ministers, holding office for life, enjoying the King's confidence and selected by him at will, worked with him and drafted his decrees. It was a government by King and Cabinet.

For administrative purposes the kingdom was divided into ten provinces, presently reduced to eight. At the head of each was placed an *Oberpraesident*, a kind of civil governor. The next lower division was the *Bezirk*, of which there were 25, each with a governing board (Regierung). Under these the old local division into Circles was retained; of these there were upward

of 300. At the head of each was the *Landrath*, a salaried officer and landowner, obliged to pass the civil-service examination, but selected from a list prepared by the representative assembly of the Circle (*Kreistag*). The representative system promised in 1815, but kept back by the conflict between the nobles and the official class, led only to the establishment, in 1825, of these Circle assemblies, with purely consultative functions, their only real power being that of nominating candidates for the post of *Landrath*. They were almost wholly aristocratic. The communes, as already stated, were not reorganized till 1872. Each province retained its old laws and customs.

The decree of 1810 on the redemption of the seigniorial rights in the eastern provinces was interpreted and modified by the declaration of 1816 in a way even more unfavourable to the peasants. These were divided into two classes: those who had the right of redemption, and those who remained in their former condition. In the first class only those peasants were included whose holdings were sufficient to support a household; it was further required that their possession should be ancient and confirmed by the assessment roll. Only these got the right to redeem the dues and services they owed to the seigneurs by payment of an equivalent. From the land they had held as tenants burdened with charges, they retained two-thirds in full ownership if their holding was hereditary, one-half if it was not. The other part went to the seigneur. The adjustment proceeded slowly, not being completed as late as 1848.

All the other peasants—the great majority—were excluded from the right to claim the advantage of the decree. The government had given them personal liberty, but was unwilling to make them peasant proprietors; they must remain under the control of the noble landlords, who needed them to cultivate their domains. The mass of the eastern peasants, therefore, remained as tenants of small holdings, living in villages or on the great estates, cultivating (often from father to son) a bit of land the use of which the proprietor gave them in exchange for manual labour. They subsisted in a wretched way, partly on the products of their little holding, partly on money earned as hired farm labourers. But in the eighteenth century the Kings had compelled the seigneurs to keep up the number of peasant holdings (*Bauernstelle*); since 1816 the institution of peasant protection (*Bauernschutz*) had been abandoned. The great landowner was released from the obligation to assist the peasants to repair

their cottages, to allow them to take wood in the forests and share the pasturage; above all, he had the right to take from the peasants lands they held on precarious title or for a limited term. The result was to enlarge the great domains at the expense of the small holdings and to convert the great majority of the tenants into mere day labourers. When, in 1850, a law was passed to protect the rights of tenants of this class, only a few of them remained.

Thus it has happened that, throughout the whole former Kingdom of Prussia, society has continued to be aristocratic. The great land-owning nobles have greatly enlarged their domains; only a minority of the peasants have become landowners, even at the expense of surrendering a part of their holdings. The others are only agricultural labourers, employed by and dependent upon the great proprietors.

In Posen, where the government made no effort to humour the great landowners, who were Polish nobles, the proprietors were forbidden to suppress the peasant tenures (1819), and smaller payments were required in redemption of the seigniorial rights; the settlements also were much more quickly made. But there also the smaller holders were excluded from these benefits.

In the western provinces the reform had been already accomplished, the peasants had become landowners, and rural society, especially in the Rhine Province, was already democratic.

The financial reorganization of the kingdom was effected between 1815 and 1820. The war had left a floating debt and a yearly deficit of 10,000,000 thalers.* A five per cent. loan was negotiated at 72 (1817). The King, in order to save the credit of the state, directed that the debt operations should be kept secret. Its amount was set at 180,000,000 thalers, with a sinking-fund designed to reduce it. The King pledged himself not to contract a further loan, "except with the consent and under the guarantee of the future assembly of the Estates of the Kingdom" (1820).

In order to get rid of the deficit, the budget was revised with an economy so rigid that the gross expenditure was reduced to about 5,000,000 thalers. The King cut down his personal expenses to the lowest terms. He announced that the budget should be published every third year, in order that everybody might see that not a penny was demanded beyond the actual necessities

*The Prussian thaler was equivalent to about seventy-five cents.

of the state. As a matter of fact, the accounts were not published till 1829, and then with inaccurate figures.

It was necessary to impose new taxes: in the cities a tax on consumption as in Holland (a grist tax and a tax on slaughter-houses); in the rest of the country a personal tax by *classes* or graduated poll-tax (changed in 1851 into an income tax). The readjustment of the customs duties led to the formation of the *Zollverein* (see p. 452).

A reform of the general laws and judicial procedure was promised, but not carried out. Meantime the Prussian Code of 1794 was extended to three of the new provinces. The government even made two attempts to impose it on the Rhine Province instead of the French "revolutionary" code and trial by jury. The inhabitants petitioned the King to be allowed to keep their existing system, which was, with difficulty, granted *provisionally*.

In relation to primary education, which had been made compulsory in the eighteenth century, the old arrangements were allowed to stand. The reform announced in 1817, and prepared in 1819, was not put into effect. The provisions of the Code of 1794 were extended to the new provinces. Parents are obliged to send their children to school; the school is supported in part at their expense, is placed under the direct supervision of the pastor or priest, and religious instruction is compulsory.

The reorganization of the army was the decisive event in the history of Prussia. The system hastily devised during the Napoleonic crisis was attacked by professional military men on the ground that the service was too short to make real soldiers, and was disliked by the middle class because it bore so hardly on young men of good family. The King adhered to the principle of universal service, and refused to admit substitutes, although this was done in all other countries. The Berlin Council having petitioned for exemption, the king threatened to publish the names of the petitioners. The service was kept on the universal and compulsory basis; but young men who gave evidence of certain educational attainments were let off with one year of army training, on condition of supplying their own support and equipment. These are the *one-year volunteers*. For the other recruits the service was fixed at three years in principle. This period, which at that time seemed very short, was adopted in order to make all young men pass through the army without too great expense to the government. The active army was reduced to the

very low number of 115,000 men. The men dismissed from the active army as fully trained belonged to the *reserve* up to the age of twenty-five.

The King hesitated more about keeping the *Landwehr*. It was said to be insufficient for war and dangerous in case of outbreak. The liberals had compromised it by exalting it at the expense of the active army; a legend which lasted long in Europe represented the Prussian victories of 1813 as the work of the *Landwehr*. The King decided to keep the institution, but increased the length of the yearly drills and arranged to have the men exercised in conjunction with the active army. Thus with a small standing army, in keeping with its meagre budget, Prussia had in time of war a disposable force composed of all her able-bodied men, and naturally divided into three parts: the Active Army, the Reserve, and the *Landwehr*—the latter in two divisions.

This system, adopted later by all Europe, was the most original feature of Prussia. The army became for domestic purposes the school in which Prussian national spirit was fostered; and toward foreign nations it gave to a state of the second order the military force and rank of a great power.

Creation of the Provincial Estates (1815-25).—While these changes were laboriously proceeding, court and official circles were agitated on the great question of the form of government. Up to the crisis of 1806 Prussia had been an absolute monarchy in which the King had sovereign control, even in making laws and imposing taxes. The reformers had persuaded Frederick William III. to admit a representative assembly; he had accepted as early as 1810 the principle of "giving a representation to the nation." In 1815, before the battle of Waterloo, he promised by his famous ordinance of May 28 to give the Prussian nation a written constitution; the first clause of his ordinance said: "There shall be formed a representation of the people." The representatives were to be elected by Provincial Estates. But, after the end of the war, the King hesitated as to the mode of fulfilling the promise. He appointed in succession five different committees on the subject, and took eight years to arrive at a decision (1815-23).

A strong party at court condemned every sort of constitution as revolutionary. The Prince Royal, later Frederick William IV., an admirer of Haller (see p. 000), was for admitting only historical rights and detested written constitutions. The Liberal

party dwelt on the King's promise solemnly given in 1815, but was divided as to the proper form of representation for the kingdom. The King sent a commission to learn the wishes of the provincial notables. Meanwhile he received from Metternich some suggestions as to the danger of constitutions and presently drew away from the constitutional party. The excitement among the students alarmed him, and he ordered a censorship of the universities and the press. Then began the proceedings against the "demagogues" (1819). Jahn was arrested and Arndt was dismissed. Severities were resumed in 1823; one hundred and twenty students were locked up in fortresses where they lay three years without trial (see p. 385). The censorship of books still existed in Prussia, but ordinarily had been exercised with moderation. It now became rigorous: a new edition of Fichte's "Address to the German Nation" was denied the right of publication by the superior board of censors.

The revolutions of 1820-21 in Spain and Italy had the effect of making constitutional systems odious to the King.* He rejected Hardenberg's project (1821) and made up his mind not to go beyond the institution of the provincial assemblies. The fifth and last committee on the constitution, presided over by the Prince Royal, drew up the scheme of representation which was enacted as law in 1823. The King did not formally withdraw his promise of 1815, but he did not keep it. Instead of a general representation of the kingdom, he granted only Provincial Estates.

These Estates, fashioned to the taste of the Prince Royal, were not national, but provincial; not representative of the people, but of classes and corporations, with power to advise but not to conclude. There were eight of them—one for each province. In order to emphasize their local character, they were established by eight separate decrees, almost, of course, identical in their terms. Each assembly included at least three Estates: nobles, cities, peasants. In four provinces (Saxony, Silesia, Westphalia, and the Rhine Province) the nobles were subdivided into seigneurs and chevaliers. The seigneurs sat in person; the chevaliers, like the cities and the peasants, were represented by deputies elected for six years. For voting in the choice of city and

* I cannot enter into the details, now well known, of the contests within the government. Hardenberg, before proposing his timid scheme of a constitution, had come to an understanding with the absolutists against the Liberals, and had secured the dismissal of Humboldt.

peasant deputies, a property qualification was required. The totals for the whole monarchy were 278 nobles, 182 citizens, and 124 deputies for the peasants.

The three sets or "estates" met as one assembly in each province, and their proceedings were secret. Their functions were to give advice on laws affecting their province and to regulate communal affairs (highways, poor-relief). They had no direct relations with the King's ministers; their communications were through a special commission, and the King made no answer until the whole eight had been heard from, which meant, in many cases, not till after a year.

These assemblies, which the King declared to be created in the spirit of the "ancient German constitution," could be made up only by manufacturing new institutions for the purpose. The three or four Estates which they were to represent existed neither in law nor in the facts of society, and even in the provinces of the west it was necessary, in order to fill up the Estate of the nobles, to admit thereto citizen landowners.

End of Frederick William III.'s Reign.—The system established between 1815 and 1825 lasted without serious change till 1848. Prussia was an absolute and bureaucratic monarchy, like Austria, with aristocratic provincial estates; political life was confined to the royal family and the officials. But society, especially in the west, was in law as democratic as in the rest of western Europe. The nobles had easier access to public employments, but the non-noble were not excluded. It was a government of office-holders. It was long the fashion to quote as characteristic of the system the answer of the minister of the interior to a complaint of the municipal council of Elbing: it was to the effect that the measures of the government were "above the limited intelligence of the subjects." But this governing body was kept to its duty by strict rules. The Prussian officials, selected by means of examinations, had slow promotion and hard work. Protected against arbitrary treatment, they acquired an *esprit de corps* which sometimes made them sufficiently independent to maintain their rights or perform their duty; they had a reputation in Germany for pedantic consciences and capacity for work.

Public life was little more than administration. Until the death of Frederick William III., in 1840, political activity was almost lacking among the people. German historians say in explanation that the Prussian people loved their aged King for his conduct in the evil days of the French invasion, and shrank

from disturbing his quiet by demanding reforms. As a matter of fact the people had no practical means of expressing their wishes. The King, as he grew older, became more and more hostile to change, and confined himself to the settlement of daily business. In the last fifteen years of his reign the only domestic events of note were the crusade against the agitators of 1834 and the Church troubles. As a result of the first, thirty-nine students were sentenced to death, but were reprieved and confined in fortresses.

The Church troubles were twofold. A conflict with the Lutheran Church grew out of a plan of conciliation. The King had expressed a wish to bring about a *Union* between the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches. His proposals were accepted by the Calvinists and the majority of the Lutherans (1817). But after 1830 certain Lutheran ministers, chiefly in Silesia, protested against the Union; they were, in consequence, deprived and even imprisoned (1832-35); they eventually founded a separate church (1841).

A conflict broke out with the Catholic Church in the new Catholic provinces of Westphalia and the Rhine, where an opposition grew up against the Protestant office-holders. The "revolutionary" institution of civil marriage not being recognised in Prussia, the clergy kept the registers of births and deaths and had the sole right to perform the marriage ceremony. In the case of a mixed marriage, the canons of the Catholic Church forbade the clergy to marry any couple who would not pledge themselves to have their children brought up in the Catholic faith. Now a Prussian law decreed that such children should follow the religion of their father. When this law was extended to the Rhine Province in 1825, the bishops consulted the Pope, who, by a brief of 1830, sustained the canonical principle, but left a way open for the bishops to make a compromise with the government. It was arranged that the priest, without blessing the mixed marriage, was to make it possible by his *passive assistance*. This was a procedure already in use in the old Prussian duchy of Jülich (Juliers). This arrangement, at first accepted, was condemned by the new Archbishop of Cologne, then by the Polish Archbishop of Posen. The Pope sustained these prelates. The King, in anger, had them put in prison and even deposed the Archbishop of Posen.

Opening Years of Frederick William IV.'s Reign (1840-47).— The Prince Royal, at length become, in his forty-fifth year, King

Frederick William IV., was already a man of note in Germany as an orator and a patron of learning. The educated public looked to him for great reforms. He began his reign with solemn coronation ceremonies (at Koenigsberg and later at Berlin). He pardoned political prisoners, recalled Jahn, restored Arndt to his professorship, and abolished the commission for investigating the political ideas of candidates for public employment. He released and restored the imprisoned prelates. But, though speaking much and earnestly, and incessantly forming plans, he seldom reached a final decision on great questions.

He found himself drawn in one direction by his own ideals and in another by the wishes of his subjects. His own ideal he had indicated in his coronation speech. At Koenigsberg he swore to be "a just judge, a faithful prince, conscientious and merciful, a Christian King." He added, "In our country there is a union of the head and the members, of the princes and the people." At Berlin he said, "I know that I hold my crown in fief of Almighty God and that I owe Him an account of every moment of my reign. If anybody asks a guarantee for the future, I give him this sentence. It is of more weight and binds more strongly than all the coronation oaths and all the parchment pledges." Then, addressing himself directly to the crowd filling the space in front of the palace, he asked, "Will you help me to bring into even more brilliant activity the qualities whereby Prussia, with her fourteen millions of people, stands among the great powers of the world: honour, faithfulness, struggle toward light, right, and truth, stepping forward with the wisdom of age and at the same time the heroic vigour of youth? Will you . . . help me faithfully in good days as in evil ones? Oh, then, answer me with the most beautiful word of our mother-tongue, answer me a Ja! [yes]." To the loud acclaim of the crowd the King replied: "That Ja! was for me; it is my own property . . . it binds us inseparably in mutual love and fidelity."

Like his friends of the historical and romantic school, Niebuhr, Savigny, and Ranke, Frederick William hated the rationalistic and democratic French Revolution, with its popular sovereignty and its paper constitutions. His ideal was the Christian German state of the Middle Ages, as conceived by the writers of romance: the King responsible to God alone, governing in accordance with custom with the aid of his subjects grouped in their traditional classes, personally loved and respected by all, extending his paternal care to all and guiding them by divine inspiration.

The middle class and some of the nobles wished for a constitutional system. The estates of the province of Prussia, as early as 1840, entreated the King "to assure to his people an assembly of representatives of the country." The Rhine Province, neighbour to the parliamentary Kingdom of Belgium, expressed a similar wish. The question of a national representation became the leading subject of discussion in the press, the provincial bodies, and the governing class.

The King promised in 1840 a development of the provincial estates. He granted them a session once in two years, and the right of publishing their proceedings. Then he decided, with some reluctance, to summon to Berlin delegations elected by all the provincial estates, for consultation regarding a loan. The decree of 1820, fixing the limit of the debt, had declared that no new loan should be contracted without the consent of the future assembly of the estates of the kingdom. Money was now needed for construction of railway lines. The united delegations, consisting of 46 delegates of the nobles, 32 of the cities, and 20 of the peasants, approved the building of the proposed roads, but did not venture to assume the right of burdening the nation. The King, in dismissing them, took pains to remind them that they ought to regard themselves as invested with the rights of their *estate*, "not as representing the wind of opinion and the doctrines of the day!" Immediately afterward he appointed a commission to study the plan of a constitution.

The public was getting tired of waiting. The King had ordered a relaxing of the censorship (December, 1841). In 1842 engravings and books were exempted from censure. The malcontents took advantage of this to ridicule the government in cartoons, especially at Berlin and Cologne. A famous caricature appeared—the King holding in one hand an *Order*, in the other a *Counter-order*, while across his forehead the word *Disorder* was written (Frederick William IV., who died insane, already gave signs of mental derangement). The journalists were generally hot-headed young people, believers in democracy and enemies of tradition, whether aristocratic or Christian (many of them were Jews). Frederick William, wounded in his faith, did not long tolerate freedom of the press; he had Jacoby, a Jew of Koenigsberg, prosecuted—the result, however, was an acquittal. He suppressed two journals for "subversive tendencies" (1843) and established a court of censorship. He even compelled the University of Berlin to stop the lectures of a *privat-docent*, and in an

indignant letter against the university for allowing this "licensed revolutionist to endanger the loyalty of the students," he declared it was necessary once for all to conduct themselves according to his ideas. The Minister of Public Worship dismissed teachers suspected of being rationalists or liberals. In 1847 he turned the celebrated rationalist Diesterweg out of the principalship of a normal school at Berlin.

Opinion among educated Germans turned against the King; the poets Heine, Herweg, Freiligrath attacked him or satirized him. He became enraged against this "clique, who by speech, writings, and cartoons were laying the axe to the roots of German existence; who sought not the free superposition of the classes, but a hodge-podge of all classes" (letter to Bunsen).

The United Landtag of 1847.—By the King's direction, his confidential advisers had been considering the proper organization of States-General for the whole kingdom. In 1845 the matter was referred to a special commission. Later it was withdrawn from the commission and seriously discussed in the council of ministers. These deliberations lasted till 1847, and finally resulted in the patent of February 3 of that year. This was not the constitution awaited by the public; the King alone had signed it in order to "avoid all resemblance to a fundamental law." The patent created a United Landtag which was not, after all, the "representation of the people" promised in 1815, but only a general meeting at Berlin of all the members of the various Provincial Estates. It was composed, not of representatives of the people, but of deputies of classes. They were to sit together in considering financial questions, but for all other matters they sat as two bodies: the *curia* of seigneurs consisting of princes and great nobles (80) and the *curia* of the three inferior estates. The powers of the Landtag were limited to the voting of *new* taxes and the presentation of petitions. The King reserved the right to consult it in reference to changes of law whenever he should see fit. The gathering was not even made a settled institution, as the King declined to pledge himself to convene it periodically. He only promised to convoke, every fourth year, committees representing all the Provincial Estates, for consultation on laws, and every year a delegation consisting of one member from each province, to receive the accounts of the national debt.

The disappointment was general. All parties agreed in demanding at least a periodical meeting of the United Landtag. At the opening session of the Landtag, April 11, the King took

pains to give notice, by a solemn declaration, "that no power on earth could ever bring him to change the natural relation . . . between prince and people into one of convention or of constitution." "I shall never allow a sheet of paper drawn up as a second Providence, to be placed between God and our country, to make its paragraphs our rulers and substitute them for the ancient faithfulness. You, gentlemen, are the German Estates (*Stände*) in the old traditional sense, that is to say, you are before all the representatives and defenders of your own rights, the rights of the estates. . . You are to exercise at once the rights the Crown has granted to you. Your mission is not to represent opinions, to give effect to the opinions of a period or of a school. That would be quite un-German as well as unfavourable to the general welfare, for it would lead to endless difficulties with the sovereign, who, according to the law of God and of the country, must govern according to his own unfettered judgment and not according to the will of majorities." Then he adjured his loyal *Estates* to help him in combatting the spirit of revolution and unbelief. Then, suddenly rising, he uttered the famous sentence from the Psalmist: "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord, yea! in truth."

The conflict between Frederick William and the *Landtag* began at once, with a show of outward respect. The assembly voted an address of thanks, reserving, however, by 484 votes against 107, "the rights of the estates"—that is to say, the right to a representation of the people promised in 1815. The King answered that, in convoking the *Landtag*, he had acted from the fulness of his kingly power and had even gone beyond the promise of his father; that he therefore refused to recognise in the Landtag any other right than those he had granted to it. He declared the decree of 1847 "unassailable in its main features."

The government asked for a guarantee of the railway loan. The Landtag refused, and proceeded to adopt a petition for liberty of the press, control of the finances, and above all a promise of periodical convocation. These requests the King refused. The Landtag broke up without having granted or obtained anything, June, 1847.

The "United Committees" of the Provincial Estates, summoned to Berlin for consultation regarding the Criminal Code in January, 1848, were still sitting when the King, alarmed by the prevalent agitation, decided to give way on the question of

periodic meetings of the Landtag (March 8, 1848). This tardy concession did not arrest the popular movement.

Revolution of 1848.—The revolution in Prussia was an imitation of the revolution in France; it was accomplished by a rising in the capital. At Berlin there were neither political parties nor recognised leaders, nor even organization by secret societies; but there was a discontented multitude of young men and labourers, mixed with foreigners, particularly Poles. The crowd in the city had perhaps been increased by the scarcity following the bad harvest of 1847. This multitude, already stirred up against the King, the nobles and the public officers, and inspired by a vague democratic feeling, was suddenly aroused by the news of the Paris revolution and the agitation in various German states. In Prussia herself, in the manufacturing towns of the Rhine and Silesia, great popular assemblages were meeting to prepare petitions to the King. At Berlin improvised gatherings were held in the cafés when the newspapers arrived from without. On the 7th of March a meeting held in the *Thiergarten* resolved to present a petition calling for a meeting of the Landtag.

Then began the "days of March." This was a conflict between the two sets of men holding physical force in Berlin, the revolutionists and the officers. The middle class held aloof. The officers affected to despise the crowd; they spoke of the trash. The multitude grew angry, irritated by the military measures of precaution, the massing of troops at the palace, the cannons, the sentries, the cavalry posted at the city gates. There were collisions, and several were wounded. The general wrath was directed against the Prince Royal, later Emperor William I., who was unpopular as the leader of the military and absolutist party. At the news of the Vienna revolution, a mob gathered in front of his palace (March 15). They were dispersed by the military, but without violence.

The King was beginning to yield before the storm. Like the other German princes, he seems to have had an exaggerated view of the power of the revolutionists. On the 14th of March he announced a meeting of the Landtag for the end of April, "to assist in the measures to be taken for the welfare of the German Fatherland." He promised to work for "a real regeneration of the Confederation." On the 18th, having received deputations from the provinces of the Rhine, Prussia and Silesia, he advanced the date of the meeting to April 2; at the same time he expressed the opinion that "the reorganization of the federal system could

be accomplished only by agreement of the princes with the people" and that this "necessitated a constitutional organization of all the German states." He thus sacrificed his favourite doctrine.

The proclamation was published on the morning of March 18. During the day crowds gathered before the palace shouting for the King, who thanked them from his balcony. But instead of dispersing, they remained on the spot, in spite of the summons of the officer of the guards. Then, without further ado, a fight broke out between the mob and the soldiers, who had in fact been in a state of conflict for some days. Two discharges of musketry, fired at random, caused the crowd to run away, crying Treason! Several were killed. There was a sally of the troops stationed at the palace, a volley by the infantry, and a charge by the dragoons. The mobs then pillaged the gun-shops, workingmen came armed with crowbars; there was a battle near the palace; barricades were put up in the streets as in Paris. This street warfare was directed by journalists, students, and revolutionists from without. The contest went on until after midnight.

The army had little by little pushed back the rioters and was preparing to crush them on the following day. But the King suddenly faltered in presence of civil war. On the morning of the 19th a proclamation "to my dear Berliners" appeared. The King adjured his Berliners, in the name of the sick Queen, not to let themselves be seduced by a gang of malefactors; he asked them to remove the barricades, promising, if they did so, to remove the troops. The insurgents demanded that the first step should be the retirement of the troops. On the advice of the loyal citizens the King yielded. He ordered the troops to be withdrawn from the streets, granted the citizens permission to arm themselves and announced a change of ministers. The civic guard became masters of Berlin and of the government. Prince William, nicknamed *Prince Mitraille*, was ordered by the King, his brother, to leave Berlin, and departed for England. The King, through horror of bloodshed, had given the people a victory over the army.

Frederick William, abruptly renouncing his pet theories and even adopting the revolutionary terminology, assumed the part of a constitutional king at the head of a national movement. On the 21st of March, in a proclamation "to the Prussian people and the German nation," he announced himself in favour of a "true constitutional system, with responsibility of the ministers, public trials in the courts, jury in criminal cases, equality in civil and

political rights." Then, robed in the colours of the Empire (the black, red, and gold of the students), he went through Berlin on horseback, making speeches to the crowds. In the evening he exclaimed, "My people will not desert me, and Germany, confiding, will unite herself to me. Prussia henceforth is swallowed up in Germany." At one stroke the King accepted all the "revolutionary" institutions of France: a written constitution, a single national assembly elected by universal suffrage; he got the Landtag, assembled for the last time, to indorse this program by its vote.*

The National Assembly.—The Prussian National Assembly of 402 members was chosen by indirect election. Each Circle was allowed to choose a delegate; the choice was made by a body of electors who were themselves chosen by the voters—each voting district choosing one elector for every 500 inhabitants. To be a voter it was sufficient to be twenty-four years of age and to have resided in the district six months. The Assembly consisted principally of jurists, professors, and parsons, with about a hundred peasants and artisans. The most notable men in it had been members of the German Vor-parlament. Endowed, not with the power of sovereign decision on the provisions of the new constitution, but only of discussing them with the King, the Assembly found itself in continual conflict with the old governing powers—the King, the military men, and the civil officers. It lasted only seven months, but this period was decisive for the political future of Prussia. Then it was that the political parties of the kingdom took form.

The Left, coming chiefly from the democratic regions of the west and from the large cities, was a radical democratic party resembling the French republicans. It sought, French fashion, to establish sovereignty of the people; it proposed that the Assembly should declare itself sovereign, and should vote that the insurgents of March had deserved well of their country. It demanded lay control of the schools and of the *état-civil*;† also a radical reform of the administration. It came to an understanding with the Left of the Frankfort Assembly in support of a federal government for Germany superior to the state governments.

*In the province of Posen, where the Polish revolutionists had tried a resort to force in 1846, there was a Polish insurrection which required a real war for its suppression (April–May).

† That is, the registration of marriages, births, and deaths, with the attendant right of deciding on the validity of marriages and on questions of legitimacy.

In opposition to this party of revolution and German unity, there was formed a Conservative Particularist party, made up mainly from among the great landowners of the east. This party demanded the maintenance of the privileges of the aristocracy, the power of the Protestant clergy, and the independence of Prussia. It got the name of the Feudal party or, from the name of the journal it had just founded, the *Kreuzzeitung* party.

Between these two extremes, the centre formed a party of conciliation, liberal, royalist, and national: it wished a liberal constitution for Prussia and a federal union of Germany, but on such terms as to preserve the King's sovereignty and the independence of the Prussian government.

The Centre held control in the national assembly. It obtained the rejection of the propositions made by the Left and had begun voting a constitution prepared by a committee in accordance with its own views. It was a very liberal constitution, patterned after that of Belgium, the model government in the eyes of the liberals of the Rhine Province. It established legal equality and all the Belgian liberties—liberty of the person, of residence, property, religion, education, the press, meetings, clubs, petition. It abolished the survivals of seignioral authority—police, justice, and dues. The government was to be organized as in Belgium: two elective houses, summoned and dissolved by the King, controlling the finances and making the laws; the King, head of the executive power, swearing fidelity to the constitution and governing through responsible ministers; the judges independent; local administration handed over to elective councils. But instead of the Belgian property qualification for voting, universal suffrage was to be the rule, coupled with indirect election (*i. e.*, the voters, instead of voting directly for their representatives, were to choose electors to act for them). The constitution was to be agreed to by the King, as in Belgium.

The Prussian national assembly had no more power than the German national assembly of Frankfort to enforce obedience to its decisions. Its deliberations were substantially free; the Burgher guard of Berlin defended it even against a democratic outbreak in June. But the King, gradually recovering his confidence, began to show a leaning toward the Feudal party; and he had the army under his command. In the cities of Prussia there were continual quarrels between the burgher guard and the noble army officers, who were accustomed to treat civilians as their inferiors; several civilians were killed. After the affair of

Schweidnitz (July 31), in which fourteen persons were killed, the Assembly asked for a decree ordering the army officers to avoid conflicts with the citizens. The King refused the request, as an infraction of his authority over the army. The Assembly, by 219 votes against 143, repeated its request in more emphatic form (September 7). This brought on an overt breach. The King, who had appointed two liberal ministries in succession, one in March and the other in June, now dismissed his liberal advisers and formed a ministry of the old sort; he also appointed, as military commander of the province of Brandenburg, General von Wrangel, an advocate of repression by military force. Under this threat the Assembly gave a majority to the Left; it refused to insert the phrase "by the Grace of God" and voted an invitation to the federal government to defend the liberty of Vienna (see p. 416).

The people of Berlin had made the revolution following French example; the King embraced reaction following Austrian example. When the Austrian army had crushed the revolution in Vienna, Frederick William resolved to use the army against the Berlin Assembly. He formed a "fighting ministry" under his uncle, the Duke of Brandenburg, and ordered the Assembly to move to the small town of Brandenburg. The Assembly refused, and went on with its sessions at Berlin. Then the army entered the city, took possession of the hall in which the Assembly sat, and disarmed the burgher guard. Berlin was proclaimed in a state of siege; all gatherings of more than twenty persons were forbidden (November 10-12). The Assembly protested and even voted a refusal of the taxes. But between the Assembly and the army the contest was too unequal; the Assembly was broken up.

The King, having failed to win over a majority of the deputies to support Brandenburg, declared the Assembly dissolved (December 5). At the same time, invoking the traditional sovereignty of the Prussian King he proclaimed a constitution on his own authority—adding, however, that it would be subject to revision by legislative process. He also announced a meeting of the Chambers created by the instrument, to be held in Berlin.

The constitution of the 6th of December reproduced pretty closely the work of the National Assembly; but it was "granted" by the King, without the advice and consent of the nation's representatives; and one Article gave the King the right, in the absence of the two houses, to issue ordinances having the force of law. This was taken from that article of the French *Charte*

which had brought the revolution of 1830. It was put to immediate use in promulgating a law to regulate the elections to the Chambers, and even in effecting some liberal reforms—introduction of jury trial, abolition of special jurisdictions, and redemption of seignioral dues.

The King, by retaining command of the army, had resumed his sovereign power as soon as he wished, but he did not dare any more to violate constitutional forms "desired by his people"; and he himself introduced once for all into Prussia all the revolutionary institutions condemned by his own ideal—a written constitution, popular representation, and even universal suffrage.

The Constitution of 1850.—The two Chambers, called together for the revision of the new constitution, had not time to finish their work. They got into conflict with the King, at first on the question of German unity, later on home questions. They entreated him to accept the imperial crown offered to him by the Frankfort Assembly, expressing at the same time the opinion that the constitution adopted by that assembly was valid and binding (see p. 395). Later they asked that the "state of siege" decreed for Berlin be withdrawn. On the 27th of April the King dissolved the popular chamber. In order to get a more docile Parliament he enacted, by way of ordinance, a new election law much less democratic than the one under which the dissolved Chamber was elected.

1. Universal suffrage was retained in the first stage of the elections, but it was made unequal. In each voting precinct the primary voters were divided into three classes on the basis of direct taxation, by first arranging them in a descending scale, the heaviest taxpayers at the head, the less heavy next, and so on down to those who pay the least or no tax at all; the list is then cut into three parts at such points as to have each part represent one-third of the whole direct taxation of the precinct. The taxpayers named in each part constitute a *class*, and each class chooses the same number of electors. The heavy taxpayers who constitute the first class, being few in number, are individually much more strongly represented than the crowd of poor men who constitute the third class. This "three-class system," established provisionally by royal decree, still subsists in Prussia.

2. The voting at each of the two stages is *viva voce*, and each man's vote is a matter of public record. The reason given by the law is that "nothing is so indispensable to a free people as the courage to express one's conviction publicly."

The Chamber, elected in 1850 under this law, at a time of general reaction, included about 200 office-holders in a total of 350 members. It had no will to oppose the government. It accepted the constitution, with such modifications as the King was pleased to make in it: the election law of the three classes, the re-establishment of the stamp tax on newspapers, together with the "deposit" of money as a security for good conduct, the abolition of the requirement that soldiers should swear to support the constitution, the establishment of a special court for the trial of political offences; and even Article 109, under which existing taxes continue to be collected until changed by law, a provision which reduces the power of the Chamber to the mere voting of new taxes. Regarding the composition of the upper house, no agreement was found possible; the Chamber wished to preserve some form of election, whereas the King held out for appointment. It was decided to postpone the settlement of this question till 1852.

The King then consented to promulgate the constitution (January 31, 1850). Later he swore to maintain it, but in doing so explained that he gave it his sanction only because it had been improved: "It is a condition of life that government be left possible for me, for in Prussia the King must rule, and I rule . . . because it is God's command." Thus did he come back to the doctrine of divine right and the sovereign power of the King. And yet the Constitution of 1850, by consecrating the "rights of Prussians" to liberty and equality, established a system in form democratic and liberal—more democratic than even that of Belgium. It brought Prussia into the political life of our time.

The Reaction (1850-59).—The reaction against the revolution of 1848 did not lead, in Prussia, to a restoration of the old system. Frederick William refused to imitate the *coups d'état* of the Austrian government and Napoleon III. He allowed himself to propose a plan for reducing the constitution to a *charte* and for restoring election by "estates"; but he did not dare to break his oath, and he preserved the constitution.

The contradiction between the absolutist traditions of the Prussian government and the new Constitution was surmounted in practice by devices which recall those of Napoleon III. (see p. 173). The lower house remained a representative assembly, but it was made dependent on the government. The administration, as in France, arranged the electoral districts to suit itself. It recommended to the voters candidates agreeable to the

King,—often office-holders,—and always secured the election of a large ministerial majority. The chamber of 1855 was nicknamed the "House of *Landräthe*"; it had 72 of them. (The Landrath answers roughly to the French subprefect.)

It was hardly necessary to take trouble to get so docile a representative body. The usage was established of not presenting the budget to the Parliament until after the money had been expended. The chamber voted it *en bloc* without debating the details; it simply ratified what had already been done.

The lower house, besides, had only half of the legislative power; the upper house was able to hold it in check. Now the King was no longer willing to have the elective upper house of the Belgian type, originally contemplated by the constitution. He held out for an aristocratic chamber, as in other great monarchies. He prevailed on the Chambers to give him the power of determining the composition of the body by royal ordinance (1853). The final ordinance, in 1854, created a House of Lords (*Herrenhaus*) consisting partly of hereditary and partly of life members, the whole in three categories: (1) The royal princes; (2) The hereditary nobles who formed the *curia* of seigneurs in the Landtag of 1847; (3) Life members appointed by the King at his own pleasure or on the nomination of the noble families, great landowners, universities, and cities. The number of members was not limited; it has varied from 200 to 400, but the nobles have always been in majority and have supported the King in opposition to the elected lower house.

This profound transformation of the constitution, contrary to the very terms of the original and made by mere ordinance, was never ratified by a regular law; so several commentators on Prussian constitutional law regard the Herrenhaus as unconstitutional. It has nevertheless remained a part of the legislature, equal in power with the elected house. The Prussian Parliament was given no collective name in the Constitution of 1850. The King proposed the old historical name of Landtag. This proposal the lower house rejected (1855); but the King would not have the French name of "Chambers." The ministry adopted, for daily practice, the name of Landtag, which has become the established designation.

The press, which the constitution declared to be free, was stifled with prosecutions and threats. A member of the Landtag was prosecuted for inciting the people against the *Junkers*

(squires). The *Voter's Journal* was confiscated as often as three days in a week.

The right of holding political meetings was suspended; even the religious meetings of dissenting Protestants were forbidden. Political clubs were dissolved; the government prevented the holding of gatherings in the beer-gardens by withdrawing the license of any beer-seller who allowed his premises to be used for such purposes. Certain democrats, accused of conspiracy, were kept in prison eight months without trial.

This system rested on an alliance between the court, the great landowners, the military men, and the Orthodox party. The King, the ministers, and the *Kreuzzeitung*, the official organ of the Court, declared it was necessary to re-establish the autocratic power of the Crown, the influence of the aristocracy, and the reign of religion. The King, in receiving a deputation in Silesia, reproached the inhabitants with "following the example of the large cities," and he threatened them with his displeasure if agitations were begun again. "There is in the cities an evil spirit," said he. At Elbing, in 1853, he censured "those municipal authorities who, following demoralizing and de-Christianizing tendencies, still worship the unclean and corrupting conquests of a shameful epoch." Stahl, rector of the University of Berlin, in a famous toast, declared: "Science must face about." He reproached it with having been "in conflict with the facts of life and especially with its controlling forces."

The nobles obtained a modification of the constitution as regards the abolition of their privileges. The institution of *fide commissa* was restored in 1852, which enabled them to keep up the entail of their lands; and in 1856 landowners were given the police jurisdiction of their domains. Above all, the remodelling of the administrative arrangements of the provinces, Circles, and communes was arrested; the laws already passed, which had made a beginning of the work, were repealed. The provincial estates, the old assemblies of the Circles, and the administration of the communes by the nobles, as before 1850, were all restored.

Prussia found herself again under the administration of royal officers and the landholding nobility, and under the personal government of the King and ministers—disguised by a democratic representative system, as in France at the same period.

This system lasted until Frederick William IV., so far touched in his mind as to have become incapable of business, handed over the government to his brother, first as Lieutenant (October,

1858) and later as Regent. William swore to maintain the constitution and chose ministers favourable to reform; but he took pains to announce publicly that no change of system was to be looked for: "what has been promised shall be performed, what has not been promised shall be withheld."

Prussia's German Policy.—Throughout this whole period, since 1814, Prussia had laboured to extend her influence over the rest of Germany. Like Austria, she was at once a great European power and a member of the German Federation for a part of her territory. But Austria had only a small minority of German subjects (8,000,000 in 36,000,000) and her German districts touched the rest of Germany only at one corner—the southwest. Prussia, on the other hand, peopled almost exclusively by Germans, was composed of provinces which spread across the whole Federation, bordering on twenty-eight other states and intimately connected with the economic life of all parts of Germany. Being thus so much more German than Austria, she was in a position to lay the foundation for eventual leadership of the union. To this end she employed three sets of agencies—military, political, and commercial.

She had the best army in Germany, the defence of half of the western frontier, supposed to be threatened by France; she also had garrisons in certain federal fortresses. As early as 1815 she had asked that the Diet should grant her the command-in-chief of the troops of the other North German states, Austria to have the command of those of South Germany. But except during the critical years when fear of a French invasion gave Prussia a passing influence over the threatened states (1830, 1840, 1848), the other governments steadily opposed a measure which would have given Prussia military control. So the federal army remained decentralized.

As to political leadership, the King of Prussia left that to Austria till 1848; and when the revolutionary Assembly of Frankfort tendered it to Frederick William IV., under the title of Emperor, he refused it, because it had not been offered "by his equals" (see p. 395). Now the princes of Germany, especially those of them who bore the title of King, would not willingly place themselves under the King of Prussia, whom they accused of wishing to aggrandize himself at their expense. They preferred to support the Emperor, their traditional superior, who had no eye to annexations nor to a closer union of Germany.

The Zollverein.—It was neither through military nor political

measures, but through commerce, that the unity of Germany under Prussian leadership began. The first form of unity was the *Zollverein* or Customs Union, instituted and directed by Prussia. It was formed slowly, in the face of resistance which, general at first, became gradually weaker as the various states perceived the material advantages it offered. It was begun in 1818, but was not completed until 1853.

It originated in the extremely depressed economic condition of Prussia after 1815, which made a radical reform of her tariff necessary. The several parts of the kingdom had never before been under one and the same tariff; each district had a customs system of its own; in fact, Prussia had 67 different tariff areas. Her territory, cut into two widely separated divisions, made up of fragments interspersed with lands belonging to other states, would have been hard to encircle with custom houses; the complicated nature as well as the length of the frontiers (over 4000 miles) would have made smuggling easy.

Maassen, the officer charged with arranging the customs affairs, succeeded in setting up a common tariff and a single administration for the whole kingdom (1818). Foreseeing the impossibility of preventing smuggling by direct means, he chose the plan of making it unprofitable, by setting a low scale of duties: ten per cent. on manufactured products which might be imported at all points on the frontiers; twenty per cent. on colonial or over-sea products, which could only be brought in through ports easily guarded. In order to avoid disputes as to the valuation of goods, as well as the temptation to show false invoices, he adopted specific duties as far as possible, instead of the *ad valorem* method. Prussia was thus constrained, by her defective frontiers, to adopt the most liberal commercial policy of all Europe. No other great state, at that time of trade restrictions, had a tariff so nearly approaching free trade.

In establishing her line of custom houses, Prussia was led to include within it the inclosed territories belonging to the petty princes of Thuringia. She offered these princes to share the revenue collected on the basis of population; at first they protested against the tyranny of Prussia, and brought the matter before the Federal Diet; but in the end they accepted the arrangement. The first treaty, with Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen (1819), served as a model for the treaties with the other states whose territory was inclosed within Prussia. The inclosed state entered for good and all into the Prussian customs system, accepting the Prus-

sian tariff and the collection by Prussian officers, and receiving of the proceeds a share proportioned to its share of the total population contributing to the revenue. For the smaller state the arrangement was financially advantageous.

The Prussian government sought to negotiate treaties with the southern and central states, but for some time the princes rejected every proposition of Prussia as an attack on their independence. They preferred to make local customs unions among themselves. From 1820 to 1828 there were negotiations between the central states, between the Rhenish states, and between Bavaria and Wurtemburg. Austria, which clung to her prohibitive system, would neither admit the German states to a customs union with herself nor consent to their entering a union with Prussia.

Finally, after some years of intrigue, Prussia, having failed to win over her nearest neighbours, made a treaty directly with Hesse-Darmstadt, which, with its divided territory, found itself isolated in the west. The agreement, in this case, was a bad financial operation for Prussia. Hesse-Darmstadt, for a territory of only 3000 square miles, brought her a customs frontier of 500 miles. But the government accepted it from motives of policy, to create a precedent. The treaty of 1828 with Hesse-Darmstadt became, in fact, a pattern for the later customs treaties with the other German states. In order to soothe the sovereignty of the smaller states, these treaties were given the form of a customs union (Zollverein), the two contracting parties standing on a footing of equality in each case. The two states were to abolish all customs duties in their trade with each other, and to have a common tariff in their trade with foreign countries. Each was to administer this common tariff on its own part of the common frontier, each was to send an agent to watch the customs administration of the other. But Prussia, in every case, prevailed on the other to adopt the Prussian tariff and her excise taxes on tobacco, also her commercial treaties with foreign countries; in a word, Prussia controlled the customs union. The treaties were made for six years only, at the end of which term each state regained liberty of action.

In competition with the Prussian union in the north a southern customs league was formed by Bavaria and Wurtemburg; also a commercial union of central Germany (1828). But the southern and northern leagues, threatened with separation by the establishment of a barrier between, took measures against their common enemy, the central union, and succeeded in detaching

from it two little states, with the result of opening a passage through the line that threatened to separate them. Thereupon the Central Union broke up; Hesse-Cassel joined the Zollverein (1831), the southern states followed, and finally most of the other states. By 1836 the greater part of Germany had joined the Prussian *Zollverein*. The method was by separate treaties, for a term of years, between Prussia and each of the states. The *Zollverein* included 25,000,000 of people, and its frontier was less extended than that of Prussia in the days when she stood alone. The only states remaining outside were Mecklenburg, the four Free Cities, and the states of the northwest (Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg), which formed a separate union with a lower tariff than the Zollverein.

The Zollverein brought so manifest benefits that, in spite of the dislike of the other governments for Prussia, the treaties, at their expiration, were renewed for twelve years—to run till 1853.

In 1850, after the unsuccessful attempt of Prussia to form a new political union, the German princes made preparations to go out of the Zollverein, in order to form a customs union with Austria on the basis of a higher tariff: they found the Prussian tariff not sufficiently protectionist. Prussia was not willing to follow them in joining Austria; she turned to the states of the northwest, which had stood aloof from the Zollverein because they regarded its scale of duties as too high for their trade with England. With these she formed a customs union, consenting to lower her tariff for the purpose. The old *Zollverein* seemed to be broken up (1852). But the former members of it failed, after all, in their negotiations with Austria, and in the year 1853 revived their treaties with Prussia for another twelve years.

The *Zollverein*, by a series of special temporary treaties, had almost realized the commercial union which the Diet had failed to establish. All the German states, except Austria, were now members of it.

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CHAPTER XV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF GERMAN UNITY.

GERMANY, kept in the helpless condition of the Federation by the rivalry between Prussia and Austria, has become a nation by the victory of Prussia. The creation of the new Empire was made possible by a series of struggles and transformations. But during this period of preparation (1859-71) the history of Prussia is so closely interwoven with that of the other German states that it will be advantageous to make one narrative of the whole.

Reform of the Prussian Army (1859-62).—The Prince Royal of Prussia, regent since 1858, became, in January, 1861, at the age of sixty-three, King William I. Very unpopular with the Prussian liberals as head of the Prussian military party, he had always taken a great interest in the army. From the moment that he became master of the government, he set himself to reorganize the Prussian military system.

The law of 1814 had established in principle the universal three-year service in the active army; but although the population had increased meanwhile from 12,000,000 to 18,000,000, the size of the army had hardly been changed. The number of possible recruits had risen from about 40,000 a year to about 63,000; but as the number of actual soldiers for whom pay and outfit were provided was only about 130,000, the practice was to enlist only a part of the young men each year, and to turn most of them over to the reserve after two years of active service. That is to say, the two principles of universal military drill, and service for three years with the colours, had been abandoned in practice. As service in the reserve was for two years only, this body was insufficient, if called out, to raise the whole army to its war-footing of 400,000 men. To complete it, men of the *Landwehr*, that is to say, fathers of families, would have to be called out. Now the Landwehr was not up to the standard of the active army, and a call upon it for service would impose heavy sacrifices on the people.

King William accomplished two reforms: 1. He re-established the universal service, and for the three full years. This raised

the active army to nearly 200,000 men. 2. He lengthened the period of service in the reserve from two to four years. On the other hand he provided that the men should retire from the *Landwehr* at the age of thirty-two, instead of forty, the previous rule. The three years' service in the active army and the four years in the reserve, covering for the young men the years from twenty to twenty-seven, sufficed to yield an army of 440,000 men without calling on the *Landwehr*. The change gave an army consisting of men at once younger and better drilled than the old practice. But for these reforms more officers and more money were necessary.

The King took advantage of the mobilization of the Prussian army during the Italian war of 1859; of the *Landwehr* battalions called out at that juncture, he retained the officers in service after the men in the ranks were dismissed. But the money necessary for paying these officers had only been voted for one year. The King proposed to the Landtag a bill for reorganizing the army and at the same time asked for an increase of the land-tax to cover the expense. The Lower House disliked the proposed lengthening of military service from two years to three; the Upper House disliked the land-tax. The government had to be satisfied with a compromise: the two houses renewed for one year the vote of money to maintain provisionally and complete the measures necessary to the existing war-footing and to the enlarged army (May, 1860).

In spite of the word "provisionally," inserted as an amendment by the Lower House, the government acted on the assumption that the reorganization of the army was a settled fact. It transformed provisional battalions into regular regiments with numbers and colours. The Chamber continued to vote the additional money with the declaration that it was merely provisional.

The Prussian House of Representatives had not the same practical power as the representative bodies in other parliamentary states of western Europe. Recently created by a revolutionary movement, it had been reduced by the absolutist reaction to the position of a mere consulting and registering body. Its constitutional right of passing laws and voting taxes was confined to rejecting bills and new taxes proposed by the government. It had no means of putting effective pressure on the ministers and their subordinates, who remained the real holders of power.

King William, at his accession, had accepted the constitution, but he interpreted it as a rule of procedure for the conduct of

public affairs, not as a contract between the King and the people. He still held the King to be invested with a higher power of divine origin, which gave him the right and the duty of directing the government, and in particular the army and the foreign policy. It was in substance the Tory doctrine of the Divine Right, re-enforced by the Hohenzollern tradition which made the King the hereditary head of the army (Kriegsherr).

Nevertheless Regent William's course had reassured the liberals. He had discarded the feudal party who had surrounded his brother and had taken his ministers from among the supporters of the constitution. The reaction of 1850 had exhausted itself, and the constitution was safely established. A "new era" was beginning. It showed itself in the elections of 1858, which returned a strong majority of constitutional liberals. This majority tried to act in harmony with the ministers of the new era, who, on their part, brought forward a liberal reform—a permissive civil marriage bill (the *Herrenhaus* rejected it). The Lower House avoided a renewal of the conflict regarding the army question by voting the additional supplies; but in 1861 this was done by a majority of eleven only, and with a reduction in the amount proposed by the ministry.

William, on becoming King in 1861, delivered some utterances which showed the growing breach between him and the liberals. The proclamation "to my people" reproduced, with commendation, the saying of his predecessor in 1847: "As for me and my House, we will serve the Lord." At the public coronation in Koenigsberg he convoked the two Houses of the Landtag, and took pains to explain to them his doctrine of the divine right: "The Kings of Prussia receive their crown from God. I shall therefore take my crown to-morrow from the Lord's table and place it on my head." He did in fact take it from the communion table, and made the further declaration: "I am the first King to mount the throne since it was surrounded with modern institutions; but not forgetting that the crown comes only from God, I have shown . . . that I have received it from his hands" (October, 1861).

Formation of the Progress Party (1861-62).—Between William I., King by divine right, and the liberal majority in the House of Representatives, a conflict began which lasted, in the acute form, for four years. For the elections of 1861 a new German-Progress party was formed. In its electoral address it declared itself squarely opposed to the ministers both in their do-

mestic policy and in their German policy. In home affairs the party demanded the completion of the "Constitutional State" by establishing the responsibility of public officers—that is to say, the right of prosecuting them before the courts. (This was at that time one of the favourite demands of all the liberal parties on the Continent; a law on ministerial responsibility was mentioned in the Prussian Constitution, but had not yet been enacted.) They also demanded a reform of local and provincial administration abolishing the privileges of the great landowners; a reform of the public schools making them independent of the clergy; civil marriage; right of jury trial in press cases; two years' service in the army, so as to reduce the cost to the nation. And above all, in order to make the other reforms possible, they demanded a "radical reform of the House of Lords, the enemy of all progress." In German affairs the party demanded a close union of Germany, with a strong central power in the hands of Prussia, and a representation of the people of all Germany. In other words, they advocated a return to the program of 1849. The Progress party (*Fortschrittspartei*) set itself in array against three powers in the state—the official class, the aristocracy, and the clergy.

The Feudal party replied in a purely negative manifesto, rejecting all the demands of the Progressists. The liberal majority of the retiring deputies advised the avoidance of hasty action.

In the Chamber elected in 1861 the Progress party had control. It had carried the large towns and the manufacturing provinces—Saxony, Silesia, and the Rhine Province. The old liberal party was reduced to a small minority. Between these two parties the Left Centre adhered to the Progress party in the struggle.

The House assumed a decided attitude toward the ministers. It refused to continue the provisional vote of money for the additions to the army. It demanded a regular budget with the items in detail, and a stoppage of the practice of using money for a different purpose than the one for which it was granted. The ministry offered its resignation; the King preferred to dissolve the House, and in March, 1862, he appointed a "fighting ministry," under Hohenlohe.

The Conflict Regarding the Constitution (1862-66).—The struggle had begun between the House of Representatives, on behalf of the people, and the King, supported by the ministers and the House of Lords. It related primarily to a practical

question. The voters wished to maintain the two years' military service which had been in use for a score of years and seemed sufficient for the defence of the country. They were averse to increasing taxes in order to support a heavier military burden Their wish was so decided that they were ready to resist even the King: neither dissolution nor royal manifesto could move them. Twice, in 1862 and again in 1863, they re-elected the Progressists. The King held tenaciously by his project of army reform; he thought it a necessity and regarded his own judgment as final on a military question. He denied the right of the House of Representatives to refuse him the money needed for fulfilling his duty as head of the army. He had thoughts of abdicating, but none of accepting the two years' service.

This conflict on a practical question raised a conflict of doctrine that was new in the history of Prussia. The King, up to that time, had always decided questions of the army organization on his own sovereign judgment. If he declared a reform necessary, could the houses refuse him the money required for the purpose? William I. had, by implication, started the question by *definitively* creating new regiments, for which the Chambers had granted him only a *provisional* appropriation. But, on the other hand, if the House was under compulsion to vote every appropriation demanded as necessary by the King, it lost the sole effective right which the constitution gave it—the right to impose the taxes; it would become on those terms a mere consultative body.

The ministry represented the conflict as one for the possession of power; the question was "whether the power of the government should remain in the hands of the Crown . . . or should pass to the Chamber of Deputies." The circular to the administrative officers instructing them how to influence the voters, spoke of the opposition between the King's government and the "democratic party," which was exerting itself to establish "the so-called Parliamentary government" by "transferring the centre of gravity of public power from the Crown to the representatives of the people." The Progressives defended themselves from the charge of attacking the constitutional rights of the Crown; the question to be decided was "whether, side by side with the great power of the government, the constitutional right of the people's representatives should have a meaning or not."

The question was not, therefore, as in France in the time of Charles X., squarely presented in the form of a conflict between

a constitutional system and a parliamentary system. The point was not whether the King or the House should ordinarily have the last word. The two opposing parties were not agreed in saying what the question really was. The King said it was whether the system of the constitution was to be maintained against an attempt at a parliamentary system; the Chamber said it was defending the constitution against an absolutist pretension. A fact which muddled the question was that the House drew its powers from the Constitution of 1850, a copy of a foreign constitution which was founded on the sovereignty of the people, and that the King held his from the traditional military monarchy. If between these two powers, springing from contradictory sources, a conflict arose, neither the constitution nor tradition indicated a method of settling it.

The King dissolved the House (1862); but the Progressists were re-elected, and in sufficient number to supply a majority of their own. The former ministerial liberals disappeared.

The ministry attempted to conciliate the majority by some concessions in foreign policy; it recognised the new Kingdom of Italy and it intervened in Hesse-Cassel. It also made some vague promises of concessions regarding the army. But after long negotiations, the House, by 308 votes against 10, refused to continue the appropriation provisionally voted in the preceding years, for carrying out the army reorganization.

The King hesitated, was inclined to abdicate, even drew up his act of abdication, but later called on Bismarck and charged him to form a fighting ministry (*un ministère de combat*). Bismarck, a gentleman of Brandenburg, had distinguished himself as early as 1847 by his hatred of Parliamentary government and his devotion to the absolute monarchy. He had protested, in 1849, against introducing into monarchical Prussia the constitutional arrangements of the west, particularly against Parliamentary control of the budget. He accepted the leadership of the government with a pledge never to yield.

Bismarck came into power with a policy already marked out, which he expressed, in conversation with the members of the budget committee, in symbolical terms: "We are fond of carrying a suit of armour too stout for our lean body, so we ought to make use of it." He also said: "It is not Prussia's liberalism that Germany looks to, but her military power." "The unity of Germany is to be brought about, not by speeches nor by votes of majorities, but by *blood and iron*." As Prussian envoy at the

Diet he had learned to despise the Confederation, in which Prussia was always outvoted; he wished to see it broken up. He looked forward to a war with Austria; and for this war, which must decide the fate of Germany, he wished the Prussian army to be powerful and capable of rapid movement. He stood for the reorganization, therefore, as strongly as the King.

By intrusting the government to so noted a representative of the Junker party, the King broke once for all with the Chamber. When Bismarck presented himself before the Budget Committee with an olive branch, plucked by him at Avignon, this symbol of conciliation was looked upon as derisive. The Chamber raised the constitutional question. It abandoned the practice of continuing provisionally the expenditures of the preceding year, without having voted them; and it declared it "contrary to the constitution that the government should make an expenditure rejected by the Chamber." The ministry answered by carrying its budget to the House of Lords, which passed it by an enormous majority. The Lower House declared this action null and void, as contrary to the constitution, as the budget must be voted in the first place by the people's representatives (October, 1862).

The House relied on the formal text in asserting that the ministers had violated the constitution.* Bismarck urged in reply the theory of an omission in the constitution. He admitted that the ministry was about to be "forced to manage the budget without the basis prescribed by the constitution"; but he contended that he was in duty bound to "cover the expenses necessary for maintaining the institutions of the state and the welfare of the country." The constitution, he argued, contained no provision for the case. The omission could be supplied only by recurring to the law as it stood before the Constitution of 1850. Now in Prussia the old law admitted the unlimited power of the King; the King then must have the power of adopting the budget. The Constitution of 1850 had established three legislative powers, the King, the Chamber of Deputies, and the House of Lords, and had given all three equal power, even in budget matters. No one of the three had the right of forcing the others to yield. For the case of disagreement the constitution provided

*"All the revenues and expenditures of the state shall be annually estimated in advance and set down in the budget; the budget is fixed annually by a law" (Article 99). "The taxes and dues for the treasury of the state can only be levied as they are set down in the budget or ordained by special laws" (Article 100).

no solution; it assumed an agreement by compromises. "If compromises are out of the question because one of the powers insists on its own will with a doctrinaire absolutism, then . . . instead of compromises we have conflicts; and as the life of the state cannot be arrested, the conflicts become questions of force" (1863). This saying, twisted by Bismarck's opponents, became the famous formula "Force beats law."

The struggle became a conflict of forces. Now the House had only the moral force of public opinion and the legal right of voting the budget. The ministry, supported by the King, had the physical force of the army and the machinery for levying the taxes. The ministry went on with its own idea. It remained in office three years, acting on an unconstitutional budget, irregularly voted by the House of Lords. It got the Lower House dissolved again in 1863; but the Progressives came back with a still stronger majority. The ministry was not moved; it only gave up presenting the budget to the House, and cut the sessions of the Landtag as short as possible. Against its opponents it copied the methods of Napoleon III. (see pp. 000-00).

Official candidacy, already tried in 1862 in the form of a circular to the officials, was openly established. An order was issued by the King, declaring that the oath of fealty and obedience taken by officials required them "to follow as voters the course indicated by the King."

Against the journals the government suspended liberty of the press as given by the constitution, and established the system of *notifications*. The government assumed the right of notifying any paper dangerous to "the public welfare," and of suppressing it after two notifications. It said in explanation that it was necessary to forbid all criticism of the acts of the government. The chief liberal newspapers were suppressed or reduced to silence. The government proceeded against the elective municipalities by refusing to install the officers-elect, naming in their stead commissioners of their own appointment—a thing which had never been done in Prussia since the establishment of the municipalities.

To this government pressure the people and their representatives could oppose nothing but displays of public opinion. The House of Representatives voted addresses, which the King declined to receive; it protested against the press ordinance as contrary to the constitution; it voted an inquiry into the pressure put upon the elections, but the government prevented the in-

quiry; it passed a bill to enforce the responsibility of ministers (1863). The municipal councils presented petitions, but were fined for their action; the cities organized meetings, which the government prohibited; they refused to celebrate the royal anniversaries.

All through these years the House was protesting against the foreign policy of Bismarck—the convention with Russia for the extradition of Polish refugees (1863), the Schleswig-Holstein expedition (1864), and the war with Austria (1866).

The National-Liberal Agitation in Germany (1859-64).—In the other states of Germany political life had been awakened again, as in Prussia, by the Italian war. In 1859 Germany emerged from the absolutist and states-rights reaction and entered a period of agitations at once liberal and national. It was a time of confusion and conflict. The individual governments wished to keep up the autocratic system, while their subjects were demanding a return to the constitutional ideas of 1848. The governments were bent on maintaining their separate sovereignty; the national parties demanded the unity of Germany. Almost everywhere there was a national-liberal party contending against a state-rights autocratic party. But the supporters of union were divided, some wishing Prussia, others Austria, to be at the head. There was, then, internal conflict in each state both on a domestic constitutional question, and at the same time on the national question; conflict in the federal government between the two great powers, and conflict between their supporters throughout Germany.

In the domestic conflict of the various states, the elected Chamber contended with the official body in the name of the constitution or of liberty. The most famous of these conflicts took place in Hesse-Cassel regarding the Constitution of 1831, unlawfully suppressed in 1849. The elector was compelled to re-establish it, under threats from the other sovereigns.

On the national question, since the fear had arisen that Napoleon III. might attack Germany, there was a general agreement that a reform of the Confederation was needed to make it capable of resisting foreign attack. But as to the precise reform to be made, there was the same disagreement as in 1848. The reformers were still face to face with two insoluble questions: 1. Who should have the leadership? The King of Prussia would enter no union in which he should not be the head; the other kings would not hear of the King of Prussia. 2. What coun-

tries should belong to the union? Austria would come in only on condition of bringing in her whole empire; the Germans were unwilling to admit the un-German parts of it. The parties of 1848—the Prussian party, or *Kleindeutsche*, and the Austrian party, or *Grossdeutsche*—were therefore still at the force.

Two political clubs had sprung up representing these two conflicting policies. The National Union, founded in 1859, on the model of the Italian Union, to labour for the union of Germany, proposed a close federation, with an assembly of representatives under the presidency of Prussia, according to the plan of Union projected in the year 1850. This club was controlled by former members of the Gotha Reunion, chiefly professors, and had its strength in northern Germany. The Reform Club, started in 1862, advocated a looser federation, with a collective *directory* and a chamber composed of delegates from the local legislatures, in such manner as to let Austria come in. This club had its strength in southern Germany, especially Bavaria.

The agitation carried on by these clubs, in these years of reawakening public life, of patriotic festivals and scientific congresses, forcibly attracted the attention of the educated classes and even disquieted the state governments. Several of these forbade their subjects to join the "National Union." But the real decision of the great question lay with the two leading German states.

The Austrian government, which had just established a constitutional system in its own empire, had on its side the majority of the German princes, enemies of the King of Prussia. These had met in conference as early as 1859, at Wurzburg, and had proposed a scheme of reform for the confederation. This had been discussed, in a leisurely way, during the three subsequent years. Prussia rejected it in 1860. Austria accepted the general principle of it in 1861, and, after long negotiations, finally convened a Congress of the Princes at Frankfort, in August, 1863. This body adopted the Austrian plan of reforms: a Directory of six members—Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and three other states in alternation; a Federal Council of 21 votes, in which a two-thirds majority should be necessary for making war; an Assembly of 302 delegates from the legislatures of the different states; and a Federal Tribunal. Twenty-four princes signified their acceptance of the plan. But without the adhesion of Prussia it was impossible, and Prussia refused.

Bismarck would hear no more of a confederation to which

Austria belonged and in which she was sure to hold Prussia in check; he wished to replace it with a new union under Prussian leadership, without Austria. As early as 1862 he declared to the Austrian ambassador that Austria ought to withdraw from Germany and "transfer her centre of gravity to Ofen"—that is, to Hungary. In communicating the refusal of Prussia to take part in the Congress of Princes, he twice explained his own project of union (January and August, 1863): instead of a confederation, a *union*, with a military system and a treasury of its own; instead of a collective Directory, a single head, the King of Prussia; instead of a meeting of delegates of the legislatures, an Assembly of Representatives of the people, chosen by direct election, in proportion to population,—"the sole legitimate organ of the German nation,"—a necessary agent for overcoming the resistance of the state governments. This was the old revolutionary scheme of 1849.

A meeting of liberal members of the legislatures of the different states, and a general gathering of the "National Union" (September-October, 1862), had just declared for the Constitution of 1849. It seemed, then, that the national party throughout Germany was going to support Prussia, which was resuming her old program. In 1861 the "National Union," in its manifesto, had declared that Germany needed Prussia and that they must "push Prussia along the right road." But the German patriots were at the same time liberals, and the hostility of King William's government to liberalism made them despair of Prussia. When Bismarck published his scheme of reform, they did not believe him to be sincere: they thought him a champion of autocracy and of Prussia, like his party. A portion of the German liberals turned toward Austria, at that time governed by a liberal German minister; the Emperor, when on his way to the Congress of Princes, in 1863, was received with popular demonstrations in the cities of Southern Germany.

As regards the German princes, most of the greater ones were still hostile to Prussia. Hardly any were for her except her little neighbours in the north, and Baden in the south. In the crisis that had come on Germany, the great majority both of governments and subjects were going to take part against Prussia.

Crisis of the Duchies (1864-66).—Bismarck announced that the question of union would be solved only by force. He was therefore preparing for war both by military measures and diplomacy. He needed an army capable of winning prompt victories, and so

was maintaining the reorganization of the Prussian army at the cost of a quarrel with the whole nation. He needed the support or the neutrality of the great European powers, for in the European balance of power Germany had been treated as a country without a master, where all Europe had the right of intervention. The key of success therefore lay in diplomacy. Bismarck was above all a diplomatist—a diplomatist of the new school which, breaking with the polite forms and smooth falsehoods of usage, went on the plan of saying exactly what was to be done. He manœuvred in such a way as to isolate Austria; he won Russia to his side by aiding her against the Poles; France, by letting Napoleon believe that he would help him in annexing territory; Italy, by the promise of Venetia. As for England, he saw that, for a Continental war, her support could be dispensed with.

The union of Germany was accomplished, as he foretold, by blood and iron, in three wars: with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870-71.

The war with Denmark arose from a disputed succession to the crown of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The contest was between Christian, the new King of Denmark, and Frederick Duke of Augustenburg. The settlement decreed in 1852 by the great powers of Europe in favour of Christian, had not been ratified by the German Diet nor by the assemblies of the "estates" representing the people of the two duchies, nor by the heir of the Duke of Augustenburg. Of the German powers, Austria and Prussia alone had pledged themselves. When, in 1863, the throne became vacant by the death of Frederick VII. of Denmark, the assemblies of the duchies proclaimed the accession of Frederick VIII., the Augustenburg candidate; Holstein, whose population was purely German, and Schleswig, where, except in the north, the great majority was German, announced their separation from Denmark in order to unite with Germany. The question of the duchies thus became a national question. German patriots took up the cause of the Germans in the duchies and the German prince Frederick VIII. against the Danish foreigners.

It was at first a patriotic popular movement. The two great political clubs opened subscriptions, and enrolled volunteers in order to expel the Danes. In December, 1863, acting in concert, they called a congress of members of the state legislatures, which named a committee of thirty-six to direct the movement in favour of the independence of the duchies. The legislatures of the dif-

ferent states were urging on their governments, obliging them to recognise Frederick VIII. and then to vote in the Diet to send a federal "army of execution" to Holstein, where a government had been formed in the name of Frederick VIII. (December, 1863).

Prussia and Austria opposed this move, though it was urged by their elected Chambers. They asked that the appeal of the Duke of Augustenburg be rejected by the Diet, and even that the committee of thirty-six be dispersed. The other states declined this course. Germany was dividing into two camps: on the one side, the governments of the two great powers which were for recognising King Christian as successor to the ducal crown, on condition of establishing only a personal union between the duchies and Denmark; on the other side all the other governments and all the liberals, including those of Prussia and Austria.

Bismarck, without concerning himself about public opinion, induced Austria to join him in the opposition to the action of the Diet. Austria and Prussia called on the King of Denmark to give Schleswig an independent government, and on his refusal decided on war (January, 1864). This was a distinct war from that decreed, by way of federal execution, by the Diet. The Prussian and Austrian armies occupied the two duchies without a battle, compelling the federal army of execution to withdraw (this was composed of Saxon and Hanoverian troops). The war was fought in Danish territory. While it was going on Prussia and Austria declared that the only solution was the recognition of Frederick of Augustenburg (May, 1864). But at the treaty of peace (August, 1864) they compelled Christian to cede his claims to the duchies, not to the Duke of Augustenburg, but to the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. They took possession by instituting a *provisional* administration controlled by a joint commission of two members, one Prussian, the other Austrian.

As to the final disposition of the duchies, the two governments were unable to agree. They did not yet dare to cast aside the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, indorsed by themselves in May, 1864, and still sustained by public opinion in Germany and in the duchies. But before allowing the Duke to come into possession, Prussia demanded the entry of the duchies into the *Zollverein*, a treaty whereby the military force of the duchies should belong to the Prussian army, and the cession of the port of Kiel and several forts and military roads in such fashion as to honeycomb the territory with Prussian forces (February, 1865). The

Duke hesitated, and laid down as a condition that the treaty should be agreed to by the representatives of the people. Now, the people of the duchies, by various manifestations, had shown an aversion to the Prussian government.

Bismarck then proposed annexation to Prussia. Austria rejected this. In the duchies the Prussian commissioner, by his manner of treating the local authorities, had put himself in conflict with his Austrian colleague. People began to talk of a war between Austria and Prussia. Bismarck wished it, knowing that Austria was not ready. One battle, he said to the Bavarian minister, would suffice to enable Prussia to dictate her terms. But King William preferred peace. By the Convention of Gastein (August, 1865) the two powers shared the *possession* of the duchies, Austria taking Holstein and Prussia Schleswig.

An assembly of delegates of the state legislatures of Germany, convoked at Frankfort in October, declared the Convention of Gastein a "violation of right." In the name of the right of the people of Schleswig-Holstein to decide their own fate, the assembly invited the people of the duchies to persist and the whole people of Germany to sustain them. Prussia and Austria replied by sending threatening despatches to the Diet of Frankfort, informing it that they could no longer endure those "subversive manœuvres," and that they regarded the committee of thirty-six as a permanent organ for the revolutionary party of Germany. In the Diet, the governments of the other states, intimidated, did not venture to come to any decision. In Schleswig the Prussian government systematically persecuted the advocates of independence, threatened to arrest the Duke if he entered the duchy, confiscated newspapers that gave him the title of Duke of Schleswig, took revenge on a town that had received the Duke by placing a Prussian garrison in it, suppressed all patriotic societies, dismissed public officers favouring independence, and even replaced them with Danish sympathizers. Prussia had on her side in the duchies only Danes and a few nobles; her policy in Schleswig brought her into collision with the patriots of the duchies and with all the liberals in Germany. But their protestations were lost on the Prussian army, which formed the reliance of the Prussian government.

Dissolution of the Confederation (1866).—In making the war of 1864 in their own way, displacing the agents of the Diet, Austria and Prussia had morally destroyed the confederation made by them in 1815 with the other German states. When, later,

they broke with each other, they destroyed it effectually; and there was nothing left for them to do, after the war, but to recognise officially the destruction they had wrought.

The rupture between Austria and Prussia, delayed by the Convention of Gastein, came about on account of the duchies. The Austrian governor of Holstein, following a policy opposed to that of the Prussians in Schleswig, encouraged the partisans of independence and Duke Frederick. He allowed them to hold an assembly which demanded the convocation of the regular representatives of the duchies (January, 1866). Bismarck charged the Austrian government with aiding a revolutionary movement, and summoned it to say plainly whether it wished to act in harmony with Prussia. The Emperor answered that he had done nothing of which Prussia had a right to complain, but that he could not, to please her, make any further sacrifice of his good relations with the other German states.

Prussia at once began preparations for war by negotiating with Italy. She sent to the Diet a plan of radical reform of the confederation, including a parliament elected by universal suffrage (April, 1866). Austria made friendly understandings with the other states, taking advantage of the indignation felt by the liberals and patriots against Prussia; most of the legislatures were in her favour and voted additional military supplies. Both sides were arming. Austria convoked the "estates" of Holstein.

The offensive was taken by Prussia. She marched her troops into Holstein, and the Austrian troops withdrew. Austria asked the Diet to intervene and call out the federal troops. The public rupture was made by the vote on this question (June 14). There were nine votes in favour and six against—Prussia not voting. As to two of the votes included in the majority there was some doubt, as they were cast in the name of groups of small states some of which had not clearly expressed their judgment. Prussia declared at once that she regarded the federal compact as broken—announcing, however, at the same time that she "held to the unity of the German nation" and would endeavour to re-establish it on a more solid basis. She published her scheme of a federal constitution with an elected parliament.

The states that had refused to vote (Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and Luxemburg) remained neutral. Those which had voted with Austria made an alliance with her against Prussia. The war was between Prussia single-handed, on the one side, and

Austria and the chief German states on the other. The four kingdoms, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Saxony, and Hanover, the two Hesses, Nassau, and Baden all took up arms against Prussia. But, in addition to the alliance with Italy,—which gave occupation to a part of the Austrian forces,—Prussia had the advantage of an army better prepared and a more rapid mobilization. She made war simultaneously in three separate quarters of Germany, and in all three she took the offensive.

1. In Northern Germany, she invaded Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau, after an ultimatum which offered them neutrality on condition of disarming and accepting the Prussian plan of union. She occupied the whole territory of Hanover, surprised its army on the march to join Saxony, and, in spite of initial defeat, compelled it to surrender at Langensalza, June 25.

2. In the southeast she occupied Saxony without a battle. Then, with three armies, she invaded Bohemia, where the struggle with Austria was decided in a single battle at Sadowa, July 4.

3. In the southwest the Bavarian army and the armies of the other South German states lost time in confused operations and had not even succeeded in joining forces before the battle of Sadowa. A Prussian army, attacking them separately, defeated them and occupied Frankfort. This free city was severely treated: the Prussian general arrested several of its senators, suppressed its newspapers, and imposed a war contribution of six million thalers. His successor demanded twenty-five millions under threat of burning the city. The burgomaster, in despair, hanged himself. The southern states, abandoned by Austria, sued for peace.

The immediate result of the war was the formal dissolution of the Confederation. Austria accepted this result and gave her consent to a new organization of Germany, in which she should have no part. Prussia, thus made sole mistress of Germany, established a new union in accordance with her own plan, compelling all the states north of the river Main to join it. Only four German states remained outside of it—Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt. The "line of the Main" was adopted on the demand of foreign powers, especially of France, which hoped to limit the extent of the new union, and to play off a southern confederation against the northern one. But the southern states had already concluded treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia; the South German confederation was never formed.

The Prussian victory ended the rivalry between the two great powers, which had maintained the system of petty states and the dualism of Germany; but it has done so at the cost of expelling eight millions of Germans, subjects of Austria. It was the final abandonment of the Greater-Germany idea—the triumph of the Prussian scheme of a Lesser-Germany.

Annexations by Prussia.—Prussia immediately took advantage of her commanding position to round out her territory. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein she annexed outright without consulting the inhabitants, even of the north, although a clause of the treaty of Prague provided "that the people of the northern districts of Schleswig shall be ceded to Denmark, if by a free vote they manifest a desire for union with that country." Bismarck relied only on the right of conquest. Austria had ceded her rights in the larger duchies to Prussia by the treaty of Prague. Her share in the duchy of Lauenburg she had sold to Prussia before the war.

Prussia also annexed the three states lying between her western provinces and the rest of the Kingdom: Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau; also the city of Frankfort. The King's message announcing these annexations justified them by the judgment of God and the duties of Prussia. "The governments of those states . . . by rejecting the neutrality offered by Prussia . . . appealed to the arbitrament of war. The issue, by the decree of God, has gone against them. Political necessity compels us not to restore to them the authority of which they have been deprived by the victories of our armies. These countries, if they kept their independence, could, by reason of their geographical position, create embarrassments for Prussia far beyond the measure of their natural power." The bill providing for their annexation declared that Prussia ought not to be obliged, in case of war, to "employ an important part of her forces in occupying countries that menaced her in the rear." It added that the governments of the annexed states, "by their obstinate refusal of reform in the Confederation," had made their retention impossible by showing that it was not to be reconciled with an organization satisfactory to the German nation.

The committee of the Lower House sought another title than that of conquest: it held that "mere force alone now no longer suffices as a basis of national ownership; no professor of international law recognises it as giving title." Bismarck replied: "Our right is the right of the German nation to exist, to breathe,

to unite; it is the right and duty of Prussia to give Germany the condition of things necessary for her existence."

In contrast with Italy and France, which had a popular vote taken before every annexation, Prussia consulted none of the annexed communities. The royal message admitted that "only a part of the inhabitants agreed in the necessity" of annexation, but it expressed the "confidence that a living participation in the continued development of the common nationality . . . would make easy for them the transition into a new and larger community." The people of Hesse-Cassel and Nassau accepted without resistance the Prussian connection. Those of the northern duchies, except the Danes of Schleswig, resigned themselves to it, joining at the same time the Liberal opposition. In Hanover a large body of dissatisfied people hoped for some years for a return of the old dynasty, and formed a "Guelph" party strong enough to carry some parliamentary seats. At Frankfort many young men got themselves naturalized as citizens of Switzerland; but the Prussian government announced that it should treat as Prussians all who remained in the country.

By the annexations Prussia raised her population to 25,000,000 and gave her territory a cohesion which it had always lacked. But by her appeal to the old right of conquest, by her decision not to recognise the right of the people affected to vote on the question of annexation, by the language of Bismarck, so different from the delicate formalities of diplomacy, by the repressive actions of the Prussian generals in Schleswig and at Frankfort, she gave Europe the impression of a barbarous power greedy for conquests, and aroused apprehensions which twenty-five years of a peaceable policy have hardly sufficed to dissipate.

Formation of the North German Confederation (1866-67).—The union of Northern Germany spoken of in the treaty of Prague was formed by agreement between the governments of the states and the King of Prussia in 1866. Then the draft of a constitution, based on these agreements, was discussed and accepted by an assembly elected by universal suffrage (1867).

The North German Confederation (*Norddeutsche Bund*) included all Germany except the four states of the south; even Hesse-Darmstadt entered it for her fragment of territory north of the Main. Although it still bore the old name of *Bund*, it differed profoundly from the *Bund* of 1815. According to the expression of theoretic writers, it was not a "federation of states" (*Staatenbund*), but a federal state (*Bundesstaat*). Each of the

states preserved its own government, but they all became subject to a superior government, armed with physical power.

This federal government was organized according to the plan which had been officially proposed by Bismarck in 1865 and 1866, and which revived the program of the *Union* of 1849. It was composed of a Presidency permanently assigned to the King of Prussia, a Federal Council (*Bundesrath*) representing the various governments, and an elected assembly (*Reichstag*) representing the people. A place was thus formed for each of the three forces which contended for the control of Germany,—the King of Prussia, the sovereign princes, and the elective parliament,—but their powers were not equal. The Prussian government, victorious over the other governments and the parliamentary opposition, took for itself the controlling position in the new Germany.

The King of Prussia exercised his Presidency through a chancellor chosen at his pleasure. He held all the powers, military as well as diplomatic, the right to make war and to conclude treaties, the right to appoint and receive ambassadors, the position of commander-in-chief of the federal army, with the right of appointing all the corps commanders and heads of garrisons, the right to determine the organization of the federal army, to decree regulations and to supervise the execution of them. He was also the political sovereign for home affairs; head of the federal government, whose officers he appointed, with the power of keeping the other members of the union to their duty by the use of military force.

The Federal Council consisted of delegates from the several states, government officers, bound by their instructions as in the old Diet. It had permanent committees to act for it when not in session. The votes in the Council were distributed among the princes as in the former Diet; there were forty-three in all, of which Prussia held seventeen, and Saxony, the next highest, four.* For any change of the constitution a majority of two-thirds was required.

The *Reichstag* consisted of two hundred and ninety-seven members elected by universal suffrage, in the proportion of one for every 100,000 inhabitants. It had only the power of voting

* Prussia's seventeen were assigned on the basis of adding to her own original four votes, the votes of the states she had annexed—Hanover four, Holstein three, Hesse-Cassel three, Nassau two, Frankfort one.

on proposed changes of law and on the budget. The members received no pay.

This organization thus consisted in a combination of the old Diet with the Prussian Constitution, but construed, in Bismarck's fashion, as giving supreme power to the King. The King of Prussia, as President, had not only the military force, but also the control of the other powers; he convoked and dissolved the *Reichstag;* his chancellor presided over the *Bundesrath.*

Everything suggestive of parliamentary control had been avoided. Bismarck had refused to institute a responsible federal ministry; the chancellor alone represented the federal government before the *Reichstag,* the other ministers of the Confederation were only his clerks; the decrees of the King-President were countersigned by him alone. He " took the responsibility," said the constitution, but this was only a *moral* responsibility. The Reichstag had no hold on the Chancellor and consequently none on the government; it had only the negative power of refusing to pass new laws.

The two assemblies were of so different origin that the government ran little risk of finding them united against it. On the contrary, Bismarck counted on playing them off against each other: of using the *Bundesrath,* naturally aristocratic and monarchical, to check the democratic and parliamentary claims of the elected body, and of using the *Reichstag,* the organ of national public opinion, to overcome the particularist tendencies of the state governments. He insisted on an assembly chosen by universal suffrage as a bulwark against state feeling. (This was the time of enormous majorities for the Imperial government in France, under universal suffrage.)

While forming a confederation, the German states preserved their separate existence and organization. The powers were shared between the new federal government and the old local governments. The principle laid down by Bismarck was " to find the minimum of concession which the several states must make to the whole, in order that it may live " and " to demand of the state governments only those sacrifices which are indispensable for the success of a national community."

All the powers necessary for establishing national and economic unity were assigned to the federal government. (1) The military forces—army and navy; (2) International relations, ambassadors, consuls, treaties; (3) Commerce and transportation, customs duties, mail and telegraph, money, weights and meas-

ures, general regulation of railroads, banking, passports, oversight of aliens; (4) sanitary organization; (5) a part of the legislative power over commercial law, maritime law, criminal law, and judicial procedure.

The armies of all the states were organized on the Prussian model: universal military service for three years in the active army and four years in the reserve. The Prussian system of local regiments and divisions made it possible to leave each contingent in its own state (the Saxon troops even formed a separate army corps), but the whole force was equipped and drilled on the Prussian system, under the supervision of Prussian officers. The new national flag—black, white, and red—was the symbol of Prussian hegemony, her colors being black and white.

For the federal expenses a federal budget was created. The revenues were of two sorts: (1) The revenues from customs, from indirect taxes on consumption, and from the post office and telegraphs; (2) The contributions paid by the several states according to fixed proportions (*Matrikel*), to make up any deficiency. The government demanded that the Reichstag renounce the right of annual vote in the case of the army expenses; the appropriation was made for a five-year period, at the rate of 225 thalers for each soldier.

The several states retained all the other powers: justice, civil rights, public worship, education, public works, together with their independent administrative and financial systems, their local legislatures, and their legislative power. They were no longer sovereign, but they remained *autonomous*, much more independent than the Swiss cantons.

The whole arrangement was a compromise between national unity and traditional state independence, or rather between the King of Prussia and the other princes. "We recalled," said Bismarck, "the forces of resistance which wrecked the attempts at Frankfort and Erfurt, and tried to arouse them as little as possible." He had been urgent for the speedy realization of a national system: "Let us work quickly, gentlemen; let us place Germany in the saddle; she will know how to ride."

Transformation of the Parties (1866-70).—Between the two great wars of 1866 and 1870 Germany went through a profound transformation. The Confederation became a nation, and the struggle for and against national unity, which dominated public life, produced a new formation of parties and a change of policy on the part of the Prussian government. The victory of 1866

ended the constitutional contest in Prussia. The Progress party, which had conducted the struggle, was abandoned by the voters. In the House of Representatives elected in June, 1866, it had barely seventy members, nearly all from the west or from the province of Prussia; the Conservatives rose in number to nearly a hundred. The question of theory had not been settled, and even the ministry recognised the right of the House to vote the budget, for it asked for the passage of an act of indemnity relieving it of the responsibility it had incurred in governing without a regular budget. But this act of indemnity, passed by 230 votes against 75, was a practical victory for the government. The ministry remained in office, and the King declared that he would do the same thing again in a similar case. A new party was formed under the name of "National Liberal," which declared its intention "to sustain the government fully in its foreign policy" while "maintaining in home matters the position of a watchful and loyal opposition."

Presently a provisional *Reichstag* was elected by the people of all the states, to discuss the constitution (February, 1867). The majority of the body consisted of Liberals who had come over to Bismarck. Furthermore it could do little but ratify the scheme previously drawn up by the governments; it made only some amendments of detail. On the points of disagreement between the majority and Bismarck, it was the majority that yielded; in spite of formal votes in favour of a responsible federal ministry and payment of the members of the Reichstag, neither proposal was adopted in the constitution.

At the regular elections to the Reichstag and the Prussian House of Representatives, in August, 1867, the parties succeeded in clearing up their issues.

The *National Liberal* party drew to itself a part of the Progressists, some remnants of the "Old Liberals," and some deputies of the liberal opposition in the annexed provinces, Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau. Coalescing with the Liberal Conservatives detached from the old Conservative party, it formed the government majority. It wished for a consolidation of Prussia by the assimilation of the annexed provinces, and for a completion of the German union by the admission of the southern states into the Confederation. It accepted, therefore, the leadership of Bismarck, and confined itself to asking him for certain liberal reforms: the reform of the local institutions by the abolition of the remaining powers of the nobles; the reform of the primary

schools by withdrawing them from the power of the clergy; the reform of the Prussian electoral system by the introduction of simple universal suffrage. It wished also for some economic reforms, especially freedom of industry and commerce. It was a party of middle-class imperialists, opposed to the influences which had till then dominated Prussian life—the nobles, the clergy, and the official class. Its chief strength lay in the centre of the old kingdom and in the annexed provinces. Its leader, Bennigsen, was the leader of the former Liberal opposition in Hanover. The manufacturers, the merchants, and the university professors belonged to it; it included many Jews.

The Free Conservatives, of whom there were forty in the Reichstag of 1867, were large land-proprietors of the central provinces, and Silesia, stalwart ministerialists, ready to vote for all measures proposed by the government.

The bulk of the Conservative party, calling themselves German Conservatives in the *Reichstag*, were the old aristocratic party of the *Kreuzzeitung*, which had supported Bismarck and the King in the constitutional conflict. Its strength lay chiefly among the great landowners of the eastern provinces. It sought to maintain the power of the nobles and clergy. Its stronghold was in the Prussian Parliament, where it constituted almost the whole House of Lords and had a strong minority in the Lower House. Its opponents accused it of devotion to exclusively Prussian interests.

The Progress party, greatly weakened by the triumph of its adversary Bismarck, dwindled to twenty members in the *Reichstag;* only the large cities and a part of Schleswig-Holstein remained faithful to it. It continued the liberal opposition, while accepting the policy of union.

From this time new parties of radical opposition appeared. In the new provinces these were parties of protest against the annexation. In Schleswig the Danes demanded the popular vote promised in the treaty of Prague; there were two of them in the provisional *Reichstag;* the government, by a new districting, reduced them to one in the regular *Reichstag* and two in the Prussian Parliament.

In Hanover the Guelph party, seven in the *Reichstag* and three in the Prussian Parliament, was a coalition between the partisans of the expelled King and patriots who disliked the Prussian system. In the old Prussian province of Posen, which belonged to the Prussian Kingdom but had remained outside of the German

Confederation, the Polish deputies protested against the incorporation of the Grand Duchy of Posen into the North German Confederation, as contrary to the treaties; also "against every act designed to give the Poles of Prussia a German character and destroy their national existence." The Polish party, counting 13 in the *Reichstag*, a score in the Prussian Parliament, was made up of Catholic nobles.

By the side of these parties of protest on nationalist grounds a party of protest on social grounds appeared—the Socialists. As early as 1848, Socialists of the French type were found in Germany. But the party, dispersed by persecutions, did not reappear until 1863, when it got a footing among the labourers of the eastern provinces of Prussia. It was formed by the activity of a Jewish orator, Lassalle, a Socialist of 1848, who held doctrines borrowed from the old French Socialists, together with Louis Blanc's "national workshops," managed by labourers, at the cost of the state. He revived the old French name of "Social-Democrat," making it the title of his journal, founded in 1865. It was a time of struggle. Lassalle, opposing the middle-class Progressists, had relations with Bismarck, who was later reproached with having encouraged the Socialists. The party at first got its recruits among the co-operative societies founded by Schulze-Delitsch, a liberal. With the introduction of universal suffrage, it entered the political field. Lassalle, who was killed in a duel in 1864, left the party organized under a monarchical dictatorship. His second successor, Schweitzer, was elected to the Reichstag of 1867.

In opposition to this Prussian Socialist party of Lassalle's disciples, there was formed an International party under Marx. This had its strongholds at first outside of Prussia—in Saxony, among the "educational societies for workingmen" (Arbeiterbildungsvereine) organized by the middle-class Progressists. Their founder was Liebknecht, a revolutionary journalist of 1848, who had fled to London, where he became a disciple of Marx. He converted the favourite orator of the Saxon labourers, Bebel, a lathe-worker and Catholic democrat, who, in 1867-68, went over to socialism with his associates. The meeting of "educational societies" at Nuremburg in 1868 declared in favour of the International by a two-thirds vote. Later the "Social Democratic Workingman's party" was founded (1869). Its program, drawn up at Eisenach, combined the demands of the Swiss radical party with the economic doctrines of Marx.* Its two

leaders, Liebknecht and Bebel, sat in the Reichstag as early as 1867.

The two socialist parties, after abortive negotiations in 1868-69, remained in a position of rivalry till 1874.

In presence of the new condition of parties, Bismarck modified his policy. He ceased to lean exclusively on the Conservatives and gradually made approaches to the National Liberals. In Prussia he retained the ministry of the conflict time, although the Liberal majority of the Prussian Lower House protested against the minister of education, Mühler, who advocated clerical control of the schools. Not till December, 1869, did he admit two National Liberals as colleagues. But as early as 1868 the Conservatives of the Prussian Lower House, having refused him the creation of a provincial debt for Hanover (even after a threat of resignation, he carried it only by a majority of 198 against 192), he began to make terms with the National Liberals by accepting their administrative and economic reforms. The reform of the local institutions dragged till 1872; but the economic reforms proceeded rapidly (1868-69), especially those in the federal domain: repeal of usury laws, abolition of restrictions on business enterprises (1867), freedom of marriage (1868), freedom of industry, abolition of imprisonment for debt, removal of restrictions on labour unions. Later the Supreme Tribunal of Commerce was organized and the new penal code adopted.

In those practical reforms Bismarck was in agreement with the National Liberals. But he continued to reject with disdain and mockery their demands for a responsible ministry and payment of Representatives.

These measures of reorganization seem to have made many opponents, especially among the peoples who, up to that time, had been outside the Prussian system. The Prussian universal military service, introduced at a stroke, seemed too severe. It brought new expenses and caused deficits in all the states, even in Prussia itself, and compelled an increase of the taxes. The new system of economic freedom disturbed the old ways of the great landowners and artisans.

Of the annexed countries it was Hanover which gave most emphatic signs of hostility. The King of Hanover rejected the money indemnity offered to him by the Prussian government (the other dispossessed sovereigns accepted it). He demanded the restoration of his kingdom, negotiated with the enemies of

* For the programs of the various Socialist parties, see chap. xxiv.

Prussia, and formed in France the Guelph Legion, consisting of Hanoverian volunteers. Bismarck took advantage of this to sequestrate the Hanoverian indemnity (the Guelph Fund) and to get authority to use the interest. He used it at first in paying a secret police to watch the Guelph agents—the thing he called "following the reptiles into their holes in order to find out what they are doing" (1868). But little by little the "reptile fund," as it was then called, came to be used in bribing German newspapers, and the name "reptile press" was applied to the ministerial journals.

Southern Germany.—In southern Germany the four independent states continued to be torn by two contradictory policies. Already united to Prussia by the *Zollverein* and the treaties of alliance of 1866, they could not keep themselves entirely independent of the Northern Confederation. The Grand Duke and legislature of Baden would have been willing to join it; they held aloof from fear of European complications. But in the two kingdoms, Bavaria and Wurtemburg, there was no desire for a closer union with the North; the governments from attachment to their independent sovereignty, the people from aversion to the Prussians and their military service, preferred to stand aloof. The governments would not even have the Southern Confederation dreamed of by Napoleon III., for fear of being drawn into union with northern Germany.

The southern states, therefore, remained isolated. Bismarck tried to attract them by means of the Zollverein. He arranged that the customs tariff, instead of being established by treaties between the governments, should be voted in the form of a law by a *Customs' Parliament*, consisting of the North German Reichstag with the addition of deputies elected by universal suffrage in the southern states (1868). But the enemies of Prussia had the upper hand in the south, the democratic party in Wurtemburg and the Catholic party in Bavaria; the National Liberals had a majority in Baden only. Of 85 members elected to the Customs Parliament only 24 were in favour of union with the north; 46 were hostile to Prussia; the rest followed their governments. In combination with the Conservatives and professed opponents of Bismarck in the north, they formed a majority against union. The Customs' Parliament rejected an address in favour of union, by 186 to 150, and then refused to impose a tax on petroleum (1868). It lasted till 1870, but confined its action to matters connected with the customs duties.

In southern Germany the opposition to Prussia increased. In Wurtemburg the democratic majority proposed the Swiss military system (1868), and later a reduction of the military expenses; the ministry resigned. In Bavaria a dissolution of the legislature resulted in a re-election of the Catholic (Patriot) majority, which forced the King to dismiss his ministry and demanded a reduction of the military service to eight months. Even in Baden the National party was weakening in its resistance to the ministers.

Foundation of the Empire (1870-71).—At the beginning of 1870 German unity seemed farther off than in 1866. The war with France brought a great change. All the states of Germany went heartily with the Confederation. Then the great victories won in common created a strong feeling of German unity.

Before the end of the war, during the siege of Paris, the princes of the southern states offered to join the Confederation, and on the suggestion of the King of Bavaria it was decided to revive the old historical names of *Reich* and *Kaiser*—Empire and Emperor. This was only an extension of territory and a change of name. There was no new constitution. By separate treaties between the Confederation and the four southern states, these were admitted to the existing union, under its new name of German Empire; the two larger states obtained some special conditions—even in military matters. Bavaria retained her independent postal system and her own military uniform.

The Empire was inaugurated by a ceremony in which the princes alone took part. The King of Prussia was crowned Emperor at Versailles in presence of the German sovereigns in January, 1871. At that time the treaties between the governments had been presented to the parliaments of the four southern states affected. In Bavaria the Patriot anti-Prussian majority divided: one part joined the national liberal minority, thus forming a two-thirds majority, 102 to 48; the other part, consisting of the deputies of the most intensely Catholic rural districts, entered a protest in the name of Bavarian independence, January, 1871. The other three southern states had ratified the conventions in 1870 with almost no opposition. In ratifying the treaties between the governments, the Reichstag, in April, 1871, transformed them officially into the Constitution of the Empire.

The territory taken from France was annexed, not to Prussia, as the National Liberals demanded, but to the Empire. It became the "Imperial Province" (*Reichsland*) Alsace-Lorraine, and

was placed in an exceptional relation with the government. Having become a member of the Confederation, not by agreement but by conquest, it received no autonomous government and no delegates to the Federal Council; it was put directly under the power of the Imperial government; that is, it was actually governed by the Chancellor, with the assistance of a special bureau. As in 1866, the country was annexed without consulting the inhabitants.

The Empire thus constituted was unlike any preceding form of government. Theorists in public law found it difficult to define. It was a federated state formed of small autonomous monarchies, but subject to a higher sovereign, a federation (Bund) that had become an Empire (Reich) without ceasing to be a federation. The official document reads: "This *Bund* shall bear the name of *Reich*." The federation had no federal government outside of and superior to all the federated governments. One of its members, the King of Prussia, supported by irresistible military power and invested with the higher dignity of Emperor, commanded all the others as a superior; the princes were no longer his equals, but his subjects.

The individual states became subordinate to the Empire, not only in affairs common to all, such as foreign, military, and commercial affairs, but submitted in their own local concerns to the laws that should be adopted by the Imperial government. They were bound by perpetual treaties, but with no guarantees for the future. No limit was set to the power of the federal government to amend the constitution; it could change the organization by laws of such a kind as to restrict indefinitely the autonomous rights of the states; it could even transform the Empire and deprive it of its federal character, on the sole condition of getting two-thirds majority in the Federal Council. Even the special rights reserved to some of the states by treaty can be relinquished by the government of the state without the consent of the legislature.

The federal government itself has been so constructed as to give the Emperor the same preponderating power in the Empire as he had in Prussia as King. No decision can be made in opposition to him. He governs by his own sovereign power, as in a constitutional monarchy, through his chancellor, who depends on him alone, and is beyond the reach of the elected assembly of the nation. The sovereignty belongs, not to the German people, but to the Emperor and the Federal Council.

The "fundamental rights" of the individual, expressly guaranteed in 1848, were not mentioned in 1871. The "Constitution of the German Empire" is only a practical regulation of powers; like Bismarck, the founder of the Empire, it is matter-of-fact.

The empire is not even established precisely on the lines of nationality. It is the territory of the Kingdom of Prussia, enlarged by states that entered the *Zollverein* and by districts conquered by Prussia. It does not even include the whole German nation: the Austrian Germans are outside of it. It does include the alien populations annexed by conquest and still protesting against the connection: the Poles of Posen and Prussia, the Danes of Schleswig, and the French of Alsace-Lorraine.

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* On the character of this bibliog. see chap. xii.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Parties in the Empire.—The union of all the states into one Empire completed the political transformation begun in 1866. The Reichstag, established above the legislatures of the individual states, attracted the greater part of political activity, and the parties were formed on questions of national policy.

The grouping continued to be nearly the same as in the North German Confederation, but the proportions were different. As was the case before 1870, the Reichstag continued to be divided into ten or more parties of which no one has ever had a majority by itself. It is difficult to classify them according to their attitude toward the government, for several of them have changed their attitude according to the government's policy. Nevertheless, a distinction may be made between the parties of systematic opposition, hostile to the very constitution of the Empire, and the parties of intermittent opposition under the constitution.

The systematic opposition consisted of groups of very different character. There were three parties of national protest, formed by the deputies of the non-German peoples at the three extremities of the Empire: the Schleswig Danes, one deputy; the Poles of Posen and Prussia, varying in number from 13 to 19, according to the result of the elections in the districts of mixed nationality, an aristocratic and Catholic party won over since 1890; the Alsace-Lorrainers, since 1874, represented by 15 deputies, a democratic party, for the greater part Catholic. All three protested against the incorporation of their country in the Empire. There was a party of dynastic protest, the Guelphs of Hanover, hostile to Prussia; the permanent nucleus of the party was composed of the partisans of the nobles and of the Lutheran clergy, who remained faithful to the legitimate King. Around these have gathered voters dissatisfied with the Prussian government, so that the membership of the party has increased from four to eleven deputies.

The party of social protest, at first divided into two wings, was

united after the elections of 1874 into one party, the Socialist Workingman's party, organized at Gotha in 1875. It was a radical party systematically opposed to monarchical government, to the social system, to the influence of the clergy; and although it was not allowed to take the name of republican, it openly declared itself hostile to the whole monarchical system. At first the elections and the Reichstag were for the Socialists merely a means for spreading their doctrines; they put forward candidates, even in places where they knew they had no chance of electing them, in order to gather partisans on all sides. They cared more for the whole number of votes given to these candidates throughout the Empire than for the number of deputies they elected. In the Reichstag the party abstained from taking part in ordinary business, but were always on the watch for opportunities to attack existing institutions and always voted against the government. Only after 1890 it began to take a positive part in the labours of the Reichstag. Since the fusion of 1875 it has retained its former leaders of the Marx section, Liebknecht and Bebel. It has its strongholds in the large cities and the manufacturing districts, in the Prussian provinces of the Rhine, of Saxony, and of Silesia, in Berlin and Hamburg, and in the Kingdom of Saxony. The number of voters belonging to it has risen in almost constant progression from 300,000 to 1,700,000; the number of deputies has varied between 2 and 44. (At the elections of 1898 the number of voters was 2,120,000 out of a total of 7,600,000, and the number of socialist deputies elected was 56.)

The remaining parties have accepted the Empire and its constitution; they are classified according to the direction which they try to give to the government. The chief questions on which they are divided relate to the matters directly submitted to the Reichstag; the federal budget, the army, the customs and indirect taxes, the relations between ministers and Reichstag, questions of law and of legal procedure. But they do not limit themselves strictly to these matters. They form combinations with the parties in the Prussian Parliament that have formed around questions of the Church and the schools. Almost all of them originated and have their chief power in Prussia.

The Conservative party (*Deutschconservativ*) was a continuation of the old aristocratic and orthodox Protestant party of Prussia. Like the original it had its strength in the farming regions of eastern Prussia, was made up of great landowning nobles, and

had the same organ, the *Kreuzzeitung*. Its aims were to preserve the established institutions—the power of the King, the organization of the army, the authority of the aristocracy over the peasants, and of the clergy over the schools. Without openly combatting the new constitution of the Empire, it protested against the tendency of the Liberals to "absorb Prussia into Germany"; it sought to prevent the assimilation in order to maintain the special system of aristocratic old eastern Prussia. It was regarded as a Prussian particularist party, hostile to the national unity, and it had, in fact, few supporters outside of Prussia. By sustaining the King and his ministry in the conflict period it had acquired a strong influence over King William; it remained the party of the court and the nobility. It was undisputed master of the Prussian House of Lords. In the Reichstag it had a very variable number of deputies,—from 21 to 76,—according as it supported or opposed the ministry.

The Conservative-Liberal or Imperial party (*Reichspartei*), made up of large manufacturers, great landowners (especially in Silesia), and office-holders, always supported the ministry and became liberal when Bismarck adopted a liberal policy (see p. 494).

The National-Liberal party, drawing support from all parts of the Empire, remained what it had been from its birth, a middle-class imperialist anti-clerical party. Its program was to support Bismarck in giving the Empire a strong organization and to obtain from him in return a constitutional system with free trade and anti-clerical tendencies. It demanded a responsible ministry for the Empire, payment of the people's representatives, complete freedom of industry and commerce, including free trade and a reduction of the excise taxes on consumption. In Prussia it demanded freedom of the press, a reform of local administration that should abolish the authority of the nobles over the peasantry, and a reform of the school system that should take away the clerical control of education.

The party of Progress (*Fortschritt;* since 1884 *Freisinnig*) has always preserved its original program. It was, like the National-Liberals, a middle-class party of anti-clerical tendencies, but it was an opposition party, hostile to the military system and to the bureaucratic method of administration. It demanded a reduction of the period of service and of the expenses of the army, and it leaned toward a parliamentary government. It professed the doctrine of the English Manchester school as to the advan-

tages of free trade. When the National Liberal party abandoned this doctrine to follow Bismarck's evolution, a "secession" of free-traders left it (1881) and eventually joined the *Freisinnige*. This party drew its strength chiefly from the large cities, from Holstein, Hesse, the province of Prussia, and the Kingdom of Saxony.

The Democratic party (*Volkspartei*), peculiar to South Germany and especially to Wurtemburg, was radical, anti-clerical, and anti-Prussian. Greatly weakened by the founding of the Empire, it seems to have gathered strength since 1890 by its opposition to the ecclesiastical policy of the government.

The Centre was the Catholic party, formed at first in Prussia. There had always been in the Prussian Parliament a small "Catholic group," but nearly blended with the Conservatives. After the Vatican Council and the capture of Rome by Italy, a completely separate party was organized in the parliament of 1870, formed exclusively of Catholics, of whom there were fifty-six. It presented itself as a conservative monarchical party with Catholic tendencies. Its first formal act was an address to the King asking him to help the Pope in recovering his temporal power (February, 1871). The party immediately began activity in the Reichstag of 1871, taking there also the name of Centre. Its published program demanded only the maintenance of the federal character of the Empire and the liberty of the Church. But it was then and has remained a purely Catholic party, found nowhere outside of the Catholic districts of Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden. It has had no other policy than to defend the Catholic religion and the Holy See, to maintain or increase the power of the clergy and to resist the secularizing parties. It is a conservative Catholic party; but, by a natural dislike of the Protestant government of the Empire, it has, on the federal side, assumed the character of an opposition. Recruited in part from the democratic population of the west, it has retained a popular following which has kept it in touch with the democratic parties.

Conditions of Political Life.—In order to understand the tactics of these German parties, it is necessary to bear in mind the constitutional arrangements of Germany.

The Empire, created in the likeness of Prussia, is a strictly *constitutional* monarchy, like France under Louis XVIII. The Emperor and his Chancellor in Germany, the King and his ministers in Prussia, exercise the sovereign powers of government through subordinates who depend on them alone. The repre-

sentatives of the people have no means of coercing the government, not even an independent power of legislation. The Reichstag has indeed the right of proposing changes of law; on the request of 15 members it can discuss and pass any bill: but no bill becomes a law without the consent of the Emperor and the princes of the Federal Council. Practically the power of the elected assembly is purely negative; it consists in the right of refusing to adopt new laws and new taxes desired by the government.

Practically the directing power lay with Bismarck, Chancellor of the Empire and President of the Prussian ministry,* the confidential adviser of the sovereign till 1890, a man who, in accordance with his doctrine of 1862, systematically prevented Germany from developing toward parliamentary government. Accustomed to be obeyed, he would endure no control on the part of the people's representatives, nor even a partial divergence of opinion on the part of his colleagues and his supporters in the legislative bodies. He even refused to permit the organization of a regular Imperial ministry; he reduced the federal government to a bureau of the Chancellor, composed of certain officials taking over work prepared for them by the Prussian ministry. Germany, like Prussia, has lived under a liberal bureaucratic system, under the personal government of the Emperor and his Chancellor. Political life has been dominated by Bismarck's views, then by those of William II., and by their attitude toward the political parties.

This government, master of the whole administration, needed to ask the Reichstag only for new taxes and occasionally for a piece of legislation, usually of the repressive sort. The parties, conscious of having no other means of action, adopted defensive tactics, opposing a passive resistance to the government, yielding to it one step at a time when they ran any risk of not being upheld in resistance by the voters, bargaining with it to induce it to abate its demands as much as possible, avoiding appropriations for long terms of years, and all legislation that would leave the Reichstag disarmed for the future, endeavouring to get concessions in return for their votes.

The government itself having, unlike parliamentary ministries, no need of a stable majority in order to govern, took advantage of the medley of parties to get a coalition, from time to

* The experiment of a President of the Prussian Ministry distinct from the Chancellor of the Empire (1873) was not lasting.

time, sufficient for the day of the vote. Among the parties accepting the constitution (Conservative, National-Liberal, Centre, Progress) it selected those it could win over to its policy most cheaply, and made such concessions to their several programs as were necessary in order to obtain their votes. Later, as its own policy changed, it turned to a new combination. As is natural in a monarchical country administered by powerful officials, each party, during its temporary alliance with the government, has been more numerous than when in opposition. This fluctuation has been most marked in the most ministerial parties: the Conservative, which has varied from 21 to 80; the Reichspartei from 57 to 21; the National-Liberal from 152 in 1874 to 50 in 1884, then from 99 in 1887 to 42 in 1890.

The following table shows approximately the strength of each party in the Reichstag since the founding of the Empire. The deputies not attached to any party, the so-called "Savages," are not included.

	1871	1874	1877	1878	1881	1884	1887	1890	1893	1898
Conservatives	56	21	40	59	51	76	80	71	70	53
Reischpartei	39	36	38	57	27	28	41	21	27	21
National Liberals	120	152	127	98	43	50	99	42	52	48
Progress	46	49	36	25	61	65	32	67	23	43
People's Party	2	1	3	3	9	7	..	10	11	8
Socialists	2	9	12	9	12	9	11	24	44	56
Centre	63	91	92	94	97	100	98	107	99	103
Guelphs	4	4	5	10	10	11	4	11	7	9
Poles	14	14	14	14	18	16	13	16	19	14
Alsace-Lorrainers	..	15	10	15	15	13	15	10	8	10
Danes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Anti-Semites	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	18	12

The German Empire must not be conceived as a centralized state in which the whole political life is centred in the Imperial government and the Reichstag. Neither in Prussia nor in the smaller states has the local legislature fallen to the level of a provincial council; it has continued to be a political assembly, discussing vital questions of education, the Church, taxation, etc.; and the division of parties in it has continued to be a living question.

Prussia's victories in war increased everywhere the party favouring German unity under Prussian leadership—the National-Liberal party. It has prevailed in Baden and Hesse over the

Catholic party. In Wurtemburg it allied itself with the ministers against the anti-military and anti-Prussian Democrats. In Bavaria it formed the nucleus of the Liberal party, which has its strength in the Rhenish Palatinate and among the Franconian Protestants, and which supports the ministers against the Catholic majority. Thanks to the Bavarian system, it nearly equals in the legislature the Patriot (Catholic) party, which has on its side the great majority of the voters. In Saxony it nearly equalled the old Conservative Lutheran party up to the time when the two joined hands against the Socialists, who were beginning to carry seats in the Legislature. In Mecklenburg, where as early as 1871 it had an enormous majority of the voters, it has been held in check by the deputies of the nobles (the *Ritterschaft*), who control the "Estates," which are still organized in the eighteenth century fashion. Several times the Reichstag has protested against these old "estates" as contrary to the constitution of the Empire; but the efforts for reform made by the Grand Duke have been nullified by the resistance of the nobles. Among the small states the voters are usually divided between the National-Liberals and the Progressives.

Like Prussia and the Empire, the German states are governed by sovereigns, ministers, and officials. The government is sometimes liberal, but never parliamentary. The legislature has only a negative power; it can worry the ministers, but cannot compel them to resign; in Bavaria the Lutz ministry has maintained itself continuously in office, in spite of the Catholic majority. All Germany still lives under bureaucratic monarchies.

The Culturkampf and the Organization of the Empire (1871-77).—During the first years of the new Empire, Bismarck, going on in his evolution of 1867, allied himself with the National-Liberal party in order to establish the institutions necessary to national unity. His chief opponents in those years were the Catholic Centre.

The Prussian Constitution of 1850, based on the model of the Belgian Constitution (see p. 235), had made the Catholic Church almost independent of the state: "The Evangelical and Catholic churches, as well as every other religious body, shall govern and manage their affairs in an independent manner." The government had thus abandoned its power of control over the clergy—"the right of proposing, nominating, electing, and confirming" bishops and priests, supervision of the publication of ecclesiastical acts, and of the external relations of the churches. It had at

the same time charged the clergy with the direction of the religious instruction in the primary schools. It had continued to the clergy their grants of public money, their power over civil status, their right to public honours, and the enforcement of ecclesiastical authority by the state. This meant freedom of the clergy from control of the civil government, while remaining a public power. The bishops, having become sole masters of their clergy, had acquired over the laity a political influence which showed itself sharply in the formation of the Centre party.

This unexpected revelation of the moral power of the clergy frightened and irritated the politicians. It became the fashion to denounce the Ultramontanes as "enemies of the Empire," and to compare them to the Guelphs and the Socialists. Then began the very complicated struggle between the Centre and the government which goes by the name of the *Culturkampf, i. e.*, the fight for civilization. This was a long series of manifestoes by the Pope or the Catholic clergy of Germany, and of repressive measures by the government, the one in answer to the other, and growing in violence as the struggle progressed. The battle raged both in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Parliament.

The Centre began operations in the Prussian Parliament by demanding the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope (1871), and in the Reichstag by proposing to insert in the Imperial Constitution the articles of the Prussian Constitution which guarantee religious liberty. Bismarck took a special dislike to this party. It had for its leader Windthorst, a Hanoverian Guelph, who supported the Polish Catholics of Posen in their proposition to have Polish taught in the primary schools.

The set conflict began over the question of the "old Catholic" professors in the Catholic theological faculties of the Universities, and Catholic teachers in the public *Gymnasien* (Latin schools), who rejected the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility. The bishops forbade these men to go on with their teaching and then excommunicated them. The government, not itself approving the decrees of the Vatican Council, refused to dismiss the condemned teachers. The bishops protested in a collective address to the Emperor, September, 1871. The limits of the powers of the Church were thus made the subject of conflict.

The contest gradually widened. The priests, particularly in Bavaria, spoke from their pulpits against the Old Catholics and the government that protected them. On request of the Bavarian ministry, the Reichstag passed a clause supplementary to the

penal code of the Empire, punishing with imprisonment any priest indulging in political controversy or in attacks on the government from the pulpit (the "Pulpit Paragraph," December, 1871). In Prussia the Catholic clergy used their right of supervising the primary schools by dismissing the Old Catholic teachers, and their control over marriage licenses by refusing to marry Old Catholics. The government decided to curtail the powers of the clergy. It proposed a bill relating to marriages and one relating to the inspection of schools. The Conservative party and the Emperor himself, who insisted on the influence of the Protestant clergy over the schools and the religious character of marriage, were reluctant to accept proposals so contrary to the traditions established since 1840. At first the government succeeded only with the bill transferring the inspection of schools from the clergy to lay inspectors (February, 1872). The Minister of Public Worship, a partisan of the clergy, having lost Bismarck's confidence, was replaced by Falk, a partisan of the power of the state. The bishops protested, and the bishop of Posen refused to apply the inspection law.

Bismarck tried negotiations with the court of Rome, but was unable to induce the Pope to accept as ambassador Cardinal Hohenlohe. He complained in the Reichstag, where he pronounced the famous sentence, "We shall not go to Canossa" (May, 1872). The Pope replied in an allocution, denouncing the persecution of the Church in Germany. The answer of the government was an act expelling the Jesuits and affiliated orders from Germany. A new papal allocution against the "hypocritical persecution" was answered by the recall of the German ambassador to the Vatican (December, 1872). Diplomatic relations between the Pope and the German Empire were broken.

The clergy, forced to choose between their spiritual sovereign and the temporal power, unanimously went with the Pope. They protested against the commands and the laws of the civil power. The government, especially after the attempt of a Catholic labourer to assassinate Bismarck (July, 1874), treated the clergy as rebels. It prosecuted the bishops, seized their goods, deprived them of their jurisdiction, and finally put them in prison. At the same time, in order to bring the clergy under the power of the state, it secured the passage of the three series of acts known as the "May Laws," or "Falk Laws," 1873-75. The aim at first was to transform the bishops and priests into state officials, by requiring of every candidate for the priesthood

three years of study at the Universities and an examination in "general culture" (philosophy and history), also by requiring the bishops to give notice to the government of every ecclesiastical nomination, in order that the administrative officers might see to the enforcement of the new legislation. The state also assumed the right of supervision of all ecclesiastical seminaries. In order to deprive the clergy of their official authority the Emperor finally made up his mind, in 1874, to accept civil marriage for Prussia. In 1874 an imperial act established obligatory civil marriage for the whole Empire. The Pope, by an ecclesiastical letter to the Prussian bishops, solemnly declared these laws void, as contrary to the constitution of the Church, and pronounced his blessing on the condemned bishops. The conflict had become one of principle between the two powers.

The government demanded a declaration of submission to the new laws, and withheld the salaries of the bishops and priests who refused to make it. It induced the Prussian Parliament to repeal the articles of the Constitution of 1850 relating to the independence of the Church; also to pass, in 1875, a law dissolving all monasteries in the kingdom. Then Bismarck declared that the "armour was complete" and that the state would keep on the defensive. The contest, from that time on, consisted in manifestoes and protestations on the part of the clergy, and on the part of the government in prosecutions and punishments of those making them. Some of the bishoprics and parishes were left vacant; but the Catholic Centre, instead of submitting, increased its strength at the elections of 1874, and entered on a course of systematic opposition.

This contest caused Bismarck to depart from his old policy. In order to combat the Catholic Centre, he made approaches to the Liberal parties led by free-thinkers and Jews. The National Liberals, nicknamed "Bismarck's Party," had been elected to the number of 152, as friends of the government; they were able to make a majority of the Reichstag and of the Prussian Lower House, by combining with the Progress party. The Conservative ministers of the "conflict time" had been replaced, one after another, by National Liberals. The real power was exercised by a coalition of Bismarck and the Liberals.

Bismarck still held the reins. He yielded nothing to his new allies that could strengthen the Reichstag, and he rejected with disdain all their political demands: a responsible ministry and payment of the deputies (they had only free passes on the rail-

ways). He constrained them to support his army policy, at first by a provisional arrangement; then, in 1874, he demanded an increase of the force to 401,000 on a peace footing; he even wished to have a permanent appropriation made for this number of soldiers, and was with difficulty induced to accept a compromise. The Reichstag voted the provision for 401,000 men, for a period of seven years: this was called the "military septennate," with allusion to MacMahon's recently voted septennate in France. He also led them into voting for the military penal code, which the previous Reichstag had found too severe; also a series of criminal laws intended to reach the different kinds of opponents of the government (one of these was called the "rubber paragraph" from its elastic nature); also a press law abolishing the stamp and the deposit as security, but fixing severe penalties for attacks on the government.

The Liberal parties obtained only certain administrative, judicial, and economic reforms. In Prussia, in addition to lay inspection of schools and civil marriage, consequences of the *Culturkampf*, the reform of local administration, promised in 1814, was at last carried out in the eastern provinces. The House of Lords had always rejected it; it rejected it again in 1872, but in that year Bismarck induced the King to create twenty-five new members, and the law was then passed. It abolished the judicial and police powers of landowners on their domains, and changed the Circle assemblies into elected bodies, with power to impose taxes.

In the Empire the Reichstag and the government worked in concert to establish economic and judicial unity. The war indemnity of five thousand millions of francs paid by France made easy the economic arrangements. Several special funds were created—invalid pensions, war chest, fortresses, navy. A uniform currency was established in 1872, with the *mark* as the unit (= 24 cents). The old paper currency of the individual states was replaced with notes issued by the Imperial Treasury. An Imperial Bank was established. The customs duties on iron were almost wholly abolished (1873).

In the field of judicial reform, the individual governments rejected in the Federal Council the plan of a uniform system adopted by the Reichstag. Four years were necessary for reaching a compromise. A conference of ministers of the various states, then a commission of jurists, and finally a committee of the Reichstag, laboured over the matter. The results were a

common system of judicial procedure in civil matters, a general bankruptcy law, certain common principles of civil law, criminal procedure, and organization of courts.

The French war indemnity, distributed as repayment of outlays or expended on public works, had at first the effect of raising prices and wages and of stimulating speculative enterprises, particularly in the construction of railways and in the building of houses in Berlin. This was the period of "promoters" and of speculations in the stock-exchange. It ended abruptly in a panic and business depression (1874).

The Conservative party, dissatisfied with the reform of local administration, with the measures of free trade, with the withdrawal of the schools and the marriage ceremony from clerical hands, went over gradually into opposition to the government. It reproached Bismarck with "Germanizing" Prussia and with overturning the foundations of religion and society. Emperor William, who remained personally devoted to the church and the aristocracy, gave free scope to his Chancellor, while confessing to his intimate friends that his heart was full of misgivings. It seems that some of the Conservatives hoped to bring about Bismarck's fall and to set up in his place Count von Arnim, ambassador to France, a favourite at court backed by the Empress. The severe struggle between Bismarck and von Arnim led to a public explosion, the recall and arrest of von Arnim, followed by his trial and condemnation, first for wrongfully taking public documents from his embassy, and secondly for publishing an anonymous pamphlet against the Chancellor (1876). The Conservatives replied by a newspaper campaign against Bismarck. They accused him of being bought by Jew speculators, particularly Bleichroeder the banker, averring that he had opened "the Bleichroeder era" for Germany; hence new prosecutions.

Struggle against the Socialists (1878).—From the beginning of the Empire the government had combatted the Socialists by means of prosecutions. It had obtained in 1872 the condemnation of their two chiefs for high treason and in 1873 had prosecuted their journals in Berlin. But, perhaps because of the industrial distress following the panic of 1873, the Socialists made rapid gains among the working classes, especially in Saxony, Holstein, Thuringia, and Berlin. At the elections of 1874 they received 340,000 votes and then coalesced in a single party with a centralized management, an official journal, a treasury, and an annual congress.

Bismarck wished to check their agitation by laws against the press. But the Reichstag, anxious for liberty of the press, rejected his proposals. In 1877 the Socialists polled 480,000 votes.

The two attempts on the life of the Emperor in 1878 finally gave the government the means of overcoming the scruples of the liberal parties. The would-be assassins had acted on their own motion, and their party disavowed their acts: but they were Socialists. Bismarck took advantage of the public excitement caused by the second attempt on the Emperor's life to dissolve the Reichstag, with which he was already at variance on his economic policy. The liberal parties lost their majority; the new Reichstag voted the law against the Socialist agitators. This was an exceptional measure, expressly directed "against the subversive efforts of the social democrats." It forbade all associations, meetings, and publications having for their object "the subversion of the social order" or in which "socialistic tendencies should appear, of a kind to endanger the public peace and, in particular, the good understanding between the classes of the people." It gave the police power to seize socialistic publications and to prohibit or disperse socialistic meetings. It gave the governments power to proclaim for a year at a time, in any threatened city, the state of *minor siege*, which gave the administration the power of forbidding all meetings and of expelling every suspected person. The law was to be in force four years. Twice extended later, it lasted till 1890. It broke up the official organization of the Socialists, put an end to their clubs and their publications. According to statements issued by the party in 1890, the law had, in twelve years, suppressed 1400 publications, banished 900 persons, and condemned 1500 to prison. But the party had reorganized itself under the guise of local societies, outwardly innocent of political aims—such as choral societies, smokers' circles, workingmen's unions, etc. It had kept up the spread of its doctrines by private conversation and by means of flying sheets printed in secret. The publication of its official organ, the *Social Democrat*, was carried on from Zurich in Switzerland, whence it was smuggled into Germany. The socialist "Congress" was also held outside of Germany.

The repressive measures seemed at first to check the progress of socialism. At the elections of 1881 the party polled only 310,000 votes—electing 12 deputies. But in 1884 the number of voters rose to 550,000, and 24 socialists were elected. In 1887

and 1890 the number of voters rose to 763,000 and 1,427,000, respectively. These results showed that repression was a failure

Bismarck's Economic and Social Policy (1878-86).—In order to put down the Catholic clergy, Bismarck had allied himself with the National Liberals and had accepted their economic doctrines a customs tariff approaching free trade, direct taxes for Imperial revenue, non-interference by the state in questions between labourers and employers. Little by little Bismarck became dissatisfied with this system; at the same time he was growing tired of his contest with the Catholic Church. He took up the new currents of thought that had begun to show themselves in Germany.

Certain professors of political economy, especially Wagner and Schmoller, advocates of state intervention in industrial matters, had founded in 1872 a "society for the study of social policy" (*Verein für Socialpolitik*). This body had instituted inquiries into the condition of the labourers, and was advocating a reform of the laws relating to labour, factory inspection, tenements, and life and accident insurance. Their opponents nicknamed them "Socialists of the chair."

The protectionists, aided by the depression of 1874, had started a movement for reform of taxation and a new commercial they called for a restoration of the duties on iron, which had nearly abolished in 1873. Bismarck became first a protectionist and then a state-socialist. He began by proposing a new on imports (1877); a few years later he was advocating state interference with industry under the name of *Social policy.*

As early as 1877, the imperial budget being in a state of deficit Bismarck proposed excise taxes on cards and tobacco. The National Liberal party demanded in return the creation of an Imperial ministry. Bismarck refused, took a vacation, and came back from it with a plan involving a fiscal revolution. Up to that time the Empire had had a low tariff, approximately free trade in principle, and slight excise taxes. The revenue from customs was not sufficient for the expenses of the Empire, the deficit had been made up by contributions demanded yearly of the various states according to population. Bismarck wished to have high duties, like other great states, in order to protect home industries; he therefore resolved to increase the imperial revenue from this source to a sufficient extent to get rid of the need of contributions. Within the Empire he wished to establish a monopoly of tobacco, on the model of France, and to increase the

excise duties. The imperial budget would then much more than balance; the surplus would be distributed to the states and would enable them to lower their direct taxes. This reform would give the Empire an independent revenue system; it would no longer have to "beg at the door of the states."

The project was rejected by the National Liberals, not only for its antagonism to free trade, but also because it would give the government a revenue independent of annual vote and would thus weaken still further the control of the Reichstag over the administration. Bismarck then abandoned the Liberals and sought a majority on the other side of the house, by coming to an understanding with the two conservative parties which he had just been fighting—the Prussian Conservatives and the Catholic Centre. Taking advantage of the attempts to assassinate the Emperor in 1878, he dissolved the Reichstag elected in 1877, the Liberal majority of which had just rejected his tobacco monopoly and his anti-Socialist bill. In the new Reichstag the Liberal parties, now become opponents of Bismarck, lost their majority. By a coalition of the Conservatives and Catholics, a new majority was formed, ready to accept a part at least of Bismarck's new economic program. It took at first the form of an "economic group," consisting of 204 members who declared themselves in favour of a protective tariff (1878).

Bismarck got this coalition to vote his new tariff. This was protectionist, without, however, raising the duties on foreign grain, although the landowners demanded protection. Bismarck thus carried some fragments of his program; it was done slowly and by a compromise. The Reichstag first voted the taxes on tobacco, coffee, and petroleum, but with the provision that the revenue from customs and excise beyond 130,000,000 of marks should be distributed to the states, and that certain of the taxes should be granted only for a year at a time, a condition intended to preserve the financial control of the Reichstag (1879).

In return for these favours, Bismarck granted his new allies a change of domestic policy in Prussia. He broke with his Liberal colleagues; Falk, the minister of the Culturkampf, gave way to a Conservative successor. He stopped the reform of local administration, which was opposed by the Conservatives. The reconciliation with the Centre was slower. It began with negotiations with the new Pope, Leo XIII., which, however, came to nothing. The questions were of filling the bishoprics and parishes vacated by deaths and exclusions: the May Laws re-

quired certain declarations which the ecclesiastics declined to make. An escape was found by the device of getting the Prussian Parliament to grant the government the power of dispensing with the requirements of the laws (1880). Thus ended the Culturkampf. Subsequently the measures adopted during the struggle were one by one withdrawn (1880-93). There remained only civil marriage and the repeal of the articles relating to the Church in the Constitution of 1850. The Catholic clergy are considered in Germany to have come out victorious in the contest with the government.

The coalition of the Conservatives and the Centre also voted the purchase of the Prussian railroads. Of 20,000 kilometers of road, 6000 kilometers belonged to the state. Bismarck proposed the purchase of all the roads by the government. He succeeded in purchasing them gradually, beginning in 1879.

In this change of policy the National Liberal party broke into two parts. One section, devoted above all to Bismarck, followed him and joined the Right (1879). Another section, attached to free trade and to the May Laws, joined the Left (1880), forming the *secession* of 28 members who eventually joined the Progress party (1881). This crisis brought manifestations of ill will on the part of Bismarck toward his former allies and ministerial colleagues, together with various flings at the Reichstag and at parliamentary government. He went so far as to propose biennial sessions for the Reichstag, and vote of the budget for a two-year period instead of annually. At the elections of 1881 the Liberal parties complained of the pressure put upon the voters to induce them to support the ministerial candidates.

In order to counteract the Socialist agitation Bismarck undertook to make the imperial government popular by establishing a government system of life and accident insurance, intended to better the condition of the labouring class. This was his "social policy."

He began by the creation, in November, 1880, of an Economic Council of 75 members for Prussia. Then he proposed a bill on accident insurance, announced as the first of a series. In November, 1881, the Emperor, in a famous message, laid down the principle that the state owes help to "its needy members," not only as "a simple duty of humanity and Christianity," but as "a task of self-preservation." It is necessary to "create even among the poor, who are the most numerous and the least instructed class, the conception of the state as an institution not

only necessary but benevolent." It was a development of the modern idea of the state, resulting from Christian morality, that, "beyond the duty of defence, the state has the task put upon it . . . . of promoting in positive ways the well-being of all its members, particularly the weak." This doctrine, represented by Bismarck as the old tradition of the Prussian Kings, was identical with the teachings of the theorists known as State Socialists, and of the new party calling themselves "Christian Socialists," which had just been founded by the court preacher, Stoecker.

The new principle was put in practice by slow instalments, painfully wrung from the Reichstag. A fund was created, under imperial management, for giving pensions to labourers disabled by accident, sickness, or old age. This institution was greeted by the university economists of Germany as a social revolution which was to save millions of labourers from suffering and interest them in the preservation of society. The Socialists treated it as a trick to divert the labourers from the pursuit of real reform. It does not seem, in fact, to have drawn the labourers to support the government.

In the Reichstag elected in 1881 the Liberal opposition appeared with increased numbers (Progressives, 58; Secession Liberals, 47). Bismarck made a closer alliance with the coalition of Conservatives and Catholics. He got, through its help, some fragments of his fiscal and social program and a law against the Anarchists. His tobacco monopoly was rejected.

During the same period he entered upon a colonial policy which, begun by the efforts of individuals and companies (1880), resulted in the creation of colonies aided by grants of money from the Reichstag. This was a new field for opposition; the Reichstag of 1884 pronounced against the colonial policy.

The Army Law and the "Cartel" (1886-88).—The coalition of Conservatives and Centre broke on the question of colonies. The Centre deserted Bismarck and joined the Progressives and other opposition parties to defeat the appropriations for colonial purposes. The rupture became final when the Prussian government, having expelled the Poles from the eastern provinces, refused to answer questions on the subject in Parliament. A coalition was formed to oppose Bismarck; it was led by the two chiefs of the Centre and the Progressives, and, as it included a majority of the Reichstag, it succeeded in defeating Bismarck's fiscal proposals.

German domestic politics were disturbed by external compli-

cations. This was the time of the Boulanger excitement and the Patriotic League in France; there was a feeling abroad that Germany was threatened with a war against France and perhaps Russia. Bismarck used these fears, which his adherents in the press seem to have fomented, to get the better of his opponents in the Reichstag. He asked, in 1886, for a renewal of the military septennate, although it did not expire till 1888, and an increase of 41,000 men in the army. The Progressives and Centre voted the increase, but limited the duration of the military law to three years. Bismarck dissolved the Reichstag in January, 1887.

At the elections of 1887 a coalition of all the parties favouring Bismarck was formed to oppose the enemies of the Septennate. The three parties, Conservatives, Imperialists, and National Liberals made a formal agreement (*Cartel*) to help each other at the second ballotings. (In Germany the second ballots are confined to a choice between the two candidates standing highest at the first ballot.) The elections, turning on the military question, resulted unfavourably for the opposition, and gave a considerable majority for the *Cartel:* 220 against 175.

With this new majority Bismarck controlled the Reichstag. He got his army law passed in 1888, got a renewal of the law against the socialists, and an extension of the duration of the Reichstag, from the three-year period fixed by the constitution to five years. He came to a direct understanding with the Pope, who consented to censure the Centre for opposing the army septennate; in return Bismarck got an act through the Prussian Parliament allowing religious orders to be restored in Prussia. And, finally, he succeeded in passing several bills embodying his "social policy."

William II. and Christian Socialism.—Bismarck had governed Prussia since 1862 and the Empire since its establishment. He had been the trusted adviser of William I. In all his contests with the Prussian Parliament, with the Reichstag, with colleagues in the Prussian ministry, with the Federal Council, his master had always sustained him. Frequently by threatening resignation, which William I. would never accept, he was able to crush opponents. He had come to be regarded as the necessary head of the government.

William I. died in March, 1888. His son and successor, Frederick III., was suffering with a fatal disease at the time of his accession. With him and his wife Victoria, daughter of the

English Queen, Bismarck had been in standing disagreement, as they were advocates of parliamentary government on the English pattern. The new reign was too short to change the policy of the government (Frederick died in June, 1888). But it raised at the new court an active movement against Bismarck. The struggle led to the publication of Frederick's III.'s diary for the years 1870-71, in which were some passages unfavourable to Bismarck. Bismarck had the editor prosecuted as a falsifier, but the result was an acquittal (1889).

William II. had been known as an admirer of his grandfather and Bismarck. He was an enthusiast for the army and the Church. His first utterances showed him to be a prince imbued with the military and religious spirit of the Prussian kings, a believer in the divine right of rulers, a pronounced enemy of the socialists and free-thinkers.

His first proclamation was to the army and navy. In his proclamation to the people he announced that he had assumed the government "in presence of the King of kings and had promised God to be a just and clement prince, to cultivate piety and the fear of God." In opening the Reichstag, he announced his intention of continuing the legislative work of his grandfather, particularly as to the things mentioned in his message of November, 1881: "protection of the labouring classes . . . according to the principles of Christian morality."

Then he adopted the practice of giving out his personal impressions on political matters in after-dinner speeches, impromptu discourses, answers to addresses, speeches to the recruits joining the army and navy, etc. Instead of the retired and sedentary life of his predecessors, he adopted a life of incessant movement and bustle: trips to all the monarchies of Europe, progresses through all parts of his empire, yachting trips over all the northern seas. In Berlin he got the nickname of William the External. He continued to show a passionate interest in the army, directing its exercises, assisting at its reviews and manœuvres in all parts of the empire.

His political utterances showed especially his respect for religion, his hatred of social revolution, his admiration for personal government and military discipline. After the success of the socialists at the elections of 1890, his references to the struggle against "the subversive elements" became menacing. In Silesia he expressed the wish that the "citizens might at length wake from their sleep and not leave the state and its organs to

fight the revolutionary elements singlehanded." He hoped there might be success in "re-establishing respect for the Church, respect for the law, and unquestioning obedience to the crown." At a dinner given to the Estates of the province of Brandenburg in 1890, he said: "The spirit of disobedience is abroad in the country. It uses an ocean of printer's ink and paper to obscure paths that are and ought to be clear to anybody who knows me and my principles." At Munich, in a visitor's album, he wrote: *Suprema lex regis voluntas esto* (Let the King's will be highest law). . . To the recruits who had taken the military oath at Potsdam in November, 1891, he made an address regarding their duty in case of outbreak, in which he is reported to have said: "You are now my soldiers, you have given yourselves to me body and soul. There is now but one enemy for you, and that is my enemy. In these times of socialist intrigues it may happen that I shall order you to fire on your brothers and fathers. God save us from it! But in such a case you are bound to obey me without a murmur."

Meanwhile he intervened personally in special questions. He called an international conference to consider labour legislation. He took part in a school conference called to discuss a reform of secondary education, and expressed the opinion that more time ought to be given to modern subjects. He even sketched a plan for instruction in history which should begin with the events of our own time. . .

At the beginning of his reign he allowed Bismarck to govern. But soon the change of sovereign brought a change in parties, and presently a change in the ministry.

The Conservative party, being in sympathy with the religious views of the Emperor, drew away from the alliance with the National Liberals, who were suspected of indifference to religion. The breach began in Prussia over a bill for making the primary schools free. The Conservatives joined the Catholics in opposing the bill, and defeated it (1888). Then the *Kreuzzeitung*, the organ of the Conservatives, openly attacked the *Cartel* as "anti-Christian," as a union of the "gold of Conservative principle with the baser metal of liberalism."

The Conservatives had as chiefs two leaders of the new conservative socialistic movement: Wagner, the economist representing state socialism; and Stoecker, the court preacher, founder of the "Christian Socialists." This party, started in 1878 as a workingman's party, announced that it "placed itself on the

foundation of Christian faith, love of the King and the fatherland, and rejected social democracy as impracticable, anti-Christian, and anti-patriotic." It was, therefore, a monarchical and ecclesiastical party, but it asked of the state profound social changes: compulsory corporations with aid from the state, labour legislation, inspection of factories, funds for insurance against accidents and sickness, a progressive tax on incomes and inheritances, regulation of the hours of labour. It opposed its program to those of the old Liberal parties, champions of industrial and commercial freedom, and declared itself the foe of the Manchester school and the Jews. Stoecker, although his following remained small, acquired an influence over the Conservatives by his unceasing campaign of agitation.

The Emperor stepped in to maintain the coalition between the Conservatives and National Liberals. He stopped Stoecker's political campaign, censured the *Kreuzzeitung*, and announced in the government organ that he regarded the Cartel as an arrangement favourable to the principles of his government. The Cartel was renewed for the elections of 1890, but without a common program. The electoral campaign was made against the enhancement of prices of provisions by the new imposts and against the tendency to reaction in religion shown by the ministerialists. It resulted in a complete defeat for the parties of the Cartel: they lost more than a third of their seats, getting only 135 instead of their previous 220; whereas the opposing parties came back with greatly increased strength.

The "New Course."—The government having lost its majority, Bismarck proposed to make up a new one by a coalition of Conservatives and Catholics. The Emperor refused. As early as 1889 a latent schism had begun between Bismarck and the personal friends of William II., especially Count Waldersee, chief of staff. Relations were already somewhat strained between the Emperor and the Chancellor, owing to the latter's dislike of the international conference regarding labour questions. On the Emperor's refusal to approve Bismarck's project of a new coalition, and Bismarck's refusal to forego the regulation of 1852, which forbade any Prussian minister to communicate with the King otherwise than through the Minister-President, confidential relations between them came to an end.

The rupture was abrupt and startling: Bismarck was asked to resign both his imperial chancellorship and his position as a Prussian minister. His successor, General Caprivi, was at once

installed (March, 1890). By a despatch couched in nautical terms, the Emperor announced the event and his intention to make no change in policy: "I am as much afflicted as if I had lost my grandfather anew; but we must endure whatever God sends us, even if we should have to die for it. The post of officer on the quarter-deck of the ship of state has fallen to me; the course remains unchanged. Forward with all steam!"

In point of fact, after Bismarck's retirement, the government policy took a somewhat different direction, which got named "the new course." It was at first a change in the personal relations between the Chancellor and the members of the Reichstag. The discussions, which had been bitter under Bismarck, whom the least contradiction irritated, became more calm under Caprivi. The latter declared himself ready to accept "ideas to which the too powerful personality of Bismarck was an obstacle." He allowed greater liberty of the press and of public meetings. Even the parties most opposed to his policy, the Progressives and Socialists, were less aggressive in their opposition. The exceptional law against the Socialists, which expired in 1890, was not renewed. The Socialist party reorganized itself openly, with its newspapers, its treasury maintained by contributions from its members, its "congresses" held in Germany, and its official body of managers. But it assumed a less revolutionary tone. The new government was helped by the easier mood of all the parties, relieved as they were of the feeling of compression from which they had suffered under the autocratic sway of Bismarck.

In commercial matters the new government, without returning to free trade, adopted a system of commercial treaties, at first with the allies of the Empire, Austria-Hungary and Italy (1891), then with other countries. The aim of the treaties was to open markets for the products of German manufactures and to avoid the embarrassments caused by sudden changes of tariffs on the part of customer countries.

This change of commercial policy was connected with a change of foreign policy. The government gave up the effort after a Russian alliance and took up a more friendly attitude toward the Poles. In Prussia it stopped the scheme for Germanizing Posen. Bismarck had tried to introduce there a German population by establishing a fund for the purchase of Polish estates—the lands to be sold again to German farmers. He had also tried to extirpate the Polish language from the primary schools. But it was shown that Polish, instead of receding, had gained

ground since 1860. The Catholic Poles were not becoming Germanized, and a part of the German population had become Polish in speech. The government made a reconciliation with its Polish subjects, gave them a Pole as archbishop, and received Polish nobles with favour at the court in Berlin. The Poles, perhaps out of hatred for Russia, became friendly to the Prussian government. Both in the Prussian Parliament and in the Reichstag, the Polish party, hitherto in systematic opposition, became steadfast supporters of the government.

Meanwhile the policy of coalition with the Catholic Centre, which Bismarck had urged, had been forced on the government. The Conservatives refused to support its plan of communal reform; the National Liberals were opposed to its labour legislation and the increase of army expenditure. Caprivi made terms for the support of the Centre. He granted it, in 1890, a law relieving persons studying for the priesthood from the obligation of military service (the Protestant theological students asked not to be included). In return the Centre voted for the two measures long discussed in Prussia—the reform of the national income tax and the reform of local administration in the eastern provinces (1891). The first adopted the principle of a slightly increasing rate on incomes above 30,000 marks ($7,200), using the taxpayer's declaration as a basis of proceeding. A portion of the increased proceeds from the income tax was to be turned over to the communes in order to lighten local taxes. The act regarding local administration at length completed the reform begun in 1808 by creating in the eastern provinces, not communes on the French plan (the villages being too small and poor), but unions on the English plan, for certain special objects —roads, schools, poor relief.

On a question relating to the Prussian school system, a coalition was made between the two parties favourable to clerical influence—the Protestant Conservatives and the Catholic Centre. The government proposed to suppress mixed schools and to make all education sectarian; the ordinary teachers to give the religious instruction, but under licenses granted by ecclesiastical authorities, and subject to revocation by the same. All the other parties joined in opposition to the scheme. In the debate the ministers declared that the issue was between Christianity and atheism. The universities and city councils sent up protests against the measure. The Emperor, shaken by the widespread opposition, withdrew his support of the bill. A ministerial crisis

followed. Caprivi wished to resign, but was only relieved of his position as head of the Prussian ministry—retaining his office of Imperial Chancellor (March, 1892).

The Conservatives, disappointed in the Emperor, turned to the anti-Semites, who, under the name of Social Reform, were gaining support among the lower middle class. A gathering of Conservatives adopted a declaration that "the Church and the state are divine institutions between which a cordial co-operation is necessary for cherishing the life of the people. . . We are opposed to the influence of the Jews which has fastened itself on the country and is devouring its life." Bismarck, in retirement on his estates, carried on a petty warfare of newspaper articles and interviews against his successor. He reproached him with having compromised the safety of the Empire by alienating Russia, and with sacrificing the interests of German producers by abandoning protection. His trip to Vienna in 1892 was the occasion of ovations half intended as censures of the government; public servants were forbidden to take part in them.

Against the commercial policy of the government, a new economic party was formed, which had its following chiefly among the Conservatives of eastern Prussia. Their grievance was the low price of farm products in 1892. They took the name of the "Farmers' League." The leader of the movement, an obscure farmer of Silesia, said in his published statement: "We must give up being Liberals, Ultramontanes, and Conservatives; we must unite in one great Farmers' Party, to try and get more influence over parliaments and legislation." The party organized local branches, with a central bureau and a membership fee equal to three per cent. of the member's land tax. Its platform demanded a protective tariff on agricultural products, free coinage of silver, the institution of Chambers of Agriculture, supervision of corn exchanges. The party opposed the commercial treaty, made in 1894, with Russia; it demanded that the importation of foreign grain be made a government monopoly.

The government, attacked by the Conservatives, was supported, somewhat hesitatingly, by the Progressives and the Centre. The harmony, such as it was, came to an end on the new military question. As in 1860, the population had increased and the existing regiments were no longer sufficient to receive all the recruits; there were 60,000 in excess. The government asked for an appropriation for 100,000 additional soldiers; but,

in contrast with the course taken in 1860, it proposed to reduce, conditionally, the term of active service in the infantry from three years to two. The Progressives refused the additional appropriation, except on condition that the reduction of service be made final. The Centre asked for concessions in ecclesiastical matters as a condition of its support. The bill was rejected in May, 1893, and the Reichstag was dissolved.

At the elections of 1893 the Progressives fell apart on the army question, some of them favouring the government's scheme, the rest opposing it and trying to combine with the democratic party of southern Germany; they returned from the elections greatly reduced in strength. Most of the other parties gained some seats—a fact which enabled the government to carry the army law, by 11 majority, in the new Reichstag.

The greatest success, however, was won by the Socialists. No other party received so many votes—1,786,000, instead of the 1,427,000 received in 1890. The next most numerous party, the Conservatives, received only 1,038,000 votes. The Socialists carried only 44 seats, but this was because the districting was unfavourable to them. The districts remain as they were made in 1867-71; but the large cities and manufacturing regions, in which the Socialists have their chief strength, have greatly increased in population since that date.

The struggle against the Socialists became the Emperor's chief concern. In a prepared speech at Koenigsberg he said: "Gentlemen, to you I address my appeal: stand up and fight for religion, morality, and order against the champions of subversion!" The government prepared a "bill against subversion," which became an occasion of difficulty between Chancellor Caprivi and Eulenburg, head of the Prussian ministry: the result was that both retired from office, in October, 1894.

The new Chancellor, Hohenlohe, proposed a bill creating new penalties for inciting soldiers to disobedience, or attacking religion, the monarchy, marriage, the family, or property. The Conservatives and the Catholics accepted the principle of the bill; but in the debate in the Reichstag attacks were made on the universities and their "socialists of the chair," which annoyed the Liberal-Conservatives. Later the committee of the Reichstag amended the bill to suit the Catholics. All the other parties united in defeating it (May, 1895).

The Conservative party, already deeply affected by the introduction of the Farmers' Party, and by the understanding with the

anti-Semites, was shaken by a schism among the Christian Social party. In opposition to the aristocratic element, Parson Naumann had drawn away the mass of the party to support a democratic policy of "aiding the labouring class to organize itself and attain equality on a Christian basis." By demanding that farm labourers should have the right to form unions, he brought on a rupture with the great landowning Conservatives and the *Kreuzzeitung*, which denounced him as an ally of the Socialists. The Emperor pronounced publicly against the Christian Social party. "Political parsons," he said, "are a monstrosity. Whoever is a Christian is also social." The Anti-Semites had already declared themselves a party of the people, hostile to squires and country gentlemen. It would seem, then, that the Conservatives are getting drawn into a democratic evolution.

Alsace-Lorraine.—The region taken from France in 1871 has been kept ever since in an exceptional condition, which makes necessary a separate sketch of its history. The region includes three districts corresponding roughly to the three French departments: Upper Alsace (*Haut-Rhin*), a manufacturing district, by majority Catholic; Lower Alsace (*Bas-Rhin*), agricultural, and by majority Protestant; Lorraine (*Moselle*), agricultural and wholly Catholic. Most of Lorraine is French in language and ignorant of German. In the rest and in Alsace a dialect of German is spoken, very hard for a North German to understand—in Upper Alsace, impossible.*

According to Prussian practice, the country was annexed without consulting the inhabitants. Bismarck seems to have had a hope of conciliating them easily. He said in the Reichstag in 1871, while admitting the repugnance of the Alsace-Lorrainers to the union with Germany: "It is our duty to overcome it by our patience. I feel myself called on to be their advocate in the new state they are entering." In order to keep the country under his own hand, he had it erected into an Imperial Land (*Reichsland*), governed directly by the Chancellor of the Empire. It is represented in the Reichstag by elected deputies, but not represented in the Federal Council, because it has no state government of its own. It is subject to the laws of the Empire, but retains its own special laws—the French laws in force before the annexation.

Provisionally Alsace-Lorraine remained under a dictatorship,

* The German Census of 1880 gives 44 of the 855 communes in Alsace as French-speaking; and for Lorraine 341 French as against 370 German.

governed autocratically by the agents of the Chancellor. The administration continued to be organized on the French plan, with a President instead of prefects, *Kreisdirektors* instead of sub-prefects, *Burgermeisters* instead of Maires; the local councils of the French system were retained. But instead of the twelve arrondissements of the French rule there were 22 Circles (*Kreise*) made. All the officials appointed by the Chancellor were Germans.

Troubles soon began between the inhabitants and the administrative officers on the subject of language and various French demonstrations. The administration worked systematically to extirpate French from the schools, from official proceedings, and from public institutions, including the railroads, now become state property; it was even forbidden on signs and posters. Fine and imprisonment were used to repress manifestations of sympathy with France in any form. Journals with French tendencies and journals coming from France were suppressed. The people complained that the German officials, accustomed to a precise and patriarchal system, made their administrative attentions oppressively felt by the subjects; the officials charged the inhabitants with treating them as infected persons and "boycotting" them.

Then came the contest regarding option. The treaty of Frankfort gave the inhabitants of the annexed provinces the right of choosing to be French citizens. At the end of the time given for choice (October, 1872) the number choosing French nationality was 164,000. But the government announced that it should regard the option as valid only when followed by emigration; it treated as German subjects all who remained in the country.

The introduction of the German military system brought other conflicts. Many young Alsace-Lorrainers, not willing to serve Germany, took refuge in France. . . The German government held their families responsible.

The trouble connected itself with the *Culturkampf*. The Alsatian clergy tried to keep French in the Catholic schools. A society, with French connections, was founded for the defence of Catholic interests. The government expelled the vicar-general of Strasburg.

The dictatorship, continued to 1874, had succeeded in giving Alsace-Lorraine a German administration, but had not made it acceptable to the people. The government at length decided to admit the Imperial Province to the benefits of ordinary law.

Alsace-Lorraine was put under the legislative power of the Empire, and was given 15 representatives in the Reichstag. The first delegation, elected in 1874, was entirely composed of "Protesters." They went to the Reichstag to present a collective protest against the annexation of their country to Germany, and to demand that the people should be allowed to decide their fate themselves. They then retired from the body.

Later there was formed in Alsace-Lorraine a party which, instead of protesting against the German government, aimed to make terms with it in order to have the *régime* of conquest relaxed. Its avowed object was to obtain autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine; that is, the right to regulate its domestic affairs and have elected representatives and a budget, like the German states of the Empire. This Autonomist party had its strength chiefly in Protestant Lower Alsace. It began operations in the departmental councils, where the Protesters, in order to avoid taking the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, refused to sit. In 1874 out of 94 councillors elected 49 refused to sit. In 15 cantons no elections were held. But the Autonomists were willing to sit, a fact which enabled the government to open one of the three councils—that of Lower Alsace. To strengthen this party, the government instituted a Provincial Committee (*Landesausschuss*), consisting of 30 delegates, 10 from each department, with a right to be consulted in the legislation, taxes, and expenditure of the province. It is the embryo of a future legislature for Alsace-Lorraine.

The Autonomists, openly encouraged by the administration, took charge of the Committee, the Protesters refusing to sit, and entered into working relations with the government. It took up the discussion of practical affairs, avoiding questions of national policy. The party became strong enough to elect, in 1877, the whole five members of the Reichstag for Lower Alsace. The government, thinking reconciliation with the annexed population had begun, resolved to adopt a new system, the third since 1871.

The Provincial Committee received power, in 1877, to vote laws and the budget. The government, thereafter, could choose between this body and the Reichstag in getting legislation adopted for Alsace-Lorraine. Presently the administration was transferred from Berlin to Strasburg; an Imperial governor (*Statthalter*) was appointed, assisted by a Secretary of State and a Council composed of higher officials, and ten or more notables

chosen by the government—an institution that may develop into an upper House. The province was even given a delegate to represent it in the Federal Council of the Empire—without the right of voting, however. The Autonomists were beginning to demand complete equality with the other states of the empire: Alsace-Lorraine should be transformed into an Imperial state (*Kaiserland*), in which the Emperor should be the local prince.

The first Statthalter, General Manteuffel, arrived with a program of reconciliation. He said: "The Emperor has sent me to your country to heal wounds, not to make them. I am to conciliate the feelings that are quite natural after separation from a country like France. I am to smooth the change by an administration both just and advantageous to the intellectual and material interests of the inhabitants." Manteuffel did, in fact, try, by acts of good-will and by an administration that he considered fatherly, to reconcile the people to the government. But the existence of the Autonomist party rested on a misapprehension; the Autonomists could carry elections only by confining their policy to a recognition of the fact of German rule, without in any way accepting it as legitimate. At the elections of 1881, Manteuffel asked of them "a loyal and open recognition of the union of Alsace-Lorraine with Germany." The party was shattered by the suggestion; none but Protesters were elected.

The German government, without changing institutions, reverted to the methods of the early years—the discretionary power of the officials and the repression of popular manifestations. The conflict with the people went on. The administration, in order to turn the minds of the children away from France, prohibited the teaching of French in the schools; confiscated French newspapers; excluded, or limited to a few days' stay, Frenchmen, even Alsatians by birth, who had been naturalized in France.

The elections of 1887 showed the feeling of the people.* The question in the canvass was the new army bill (see p. 501). The government gave out that a vote against the supporters of the bill would be a vote in favour of an invasion by France. The voters got the impression that the election was a sort of plebiscite between Germany and France, and cast a full vote for the Protesting candidates. The government sharpened its repression: it expelled Frenchmen, even one who had been elected to the Reichstag; confiscated newspapers, dissolved societies

* The state of feeling in Alsace is well described by an Alsatian (under the pseudonym *Heimweh*) in *La Question d'Alsace*, 1889.

suspected of French leanings, prosecuted persons carrying anything blue, white, and red on their persons, and brought members of the Patriotic League to trial for high treason. In 1888, in order to check intercourse with France, it restored the old system of passports; reviving certain exceptional French laws of 1795 to 1814, which had become obsolete; it demanded passports of travellers entering by the French frontier. Chancellor Caprivi explained in 1890 that "the experiment of Germanizing the people having failed, there was left only the resource of deepening the ditch that divides Alsace-Lorraine from France." Passports were discontinued in 1891, but the discretionary power of the Statthalter suffices to maintain the exceptional system.

In the Reichstag of 1893 Protestation took new forms. One socialist deputy was elected, and the Catholic deputies from Alsace-Lorraine joined the Centre.

Political Development of Germany in the Nineteenth Century.—The people of Germany, when released from the French invasion, were sufficiently uniform in language and customs to feel themselves one nation and to desire political unity. But they had not all reached the same stage of political advancement and they were subject to governments that were hostile to union. The west, revolutionized by France, had a democratic social system, free from clerical control, and an administration subject to law; they needed only representative institutions at the top. The east, retaining eighteenth-century conditions, had still the official power of the nobles and clergy, with traditional customs and administrative methods that would ill accord with any other government than that of an absolute, aristocratic monarchy. Now, the two dominant governments, Austria and Prussia, both having their political centre in the east, checked, by their absolutist and aristocratic polity, the development of Germany toward a liberal system. By their rivalry they checked progress toward unity. This double clash between the democratic west and the aristocratic east, and between Austria and Prussia, explains the confused and conflicting agitations and the evolution of German political life in the nineteenth century.

For more than thirty years (1814-48) political life was centred in the west. A number of small monarchies, with liberal constitutions copied from France, were formed in that region. Their natural destiny seemed to be to form a federation of small parliamentary states like Belgium. During this time Prussia, by organizing her army on a democratic principle and by building

up the Customs Union, was preparing the means for obtaining a military and economic supremacy in Germany.

The revolution of 1848 consisted in two democratic outbreaks of the French sort in the two absolutist capitals, and an attempt of all German Liberals to form a national union by means of a democratic federal assembly. The two risings compelled the governments of Vienna and Berlin to accept democratic liberal constitutions; the federal assembly adopted one for Germany. But the absolute sovereigns presently swept away with their armies the new democratic *régime* and got rid of the new constitutions by *coups d'état.* The Emperor of Austria cancelled his; the King of Prussia mutilated his to the point of making it little more than a form of governmental procedure. The democratic federal constitution was brushed aside by Prussian troops, in a movement that also broke up the Republican party of the west. From this whole abortive experiment of 1848 there remained in Prussia a wreck of a democratic constitution and the independence of the Catholic Church; there remained also a plan of German unity, elaborated by the Smaller Germany party in 1849—a federal empire, from which Austria should be excluded, governed by the King of Prussia with a democratic assembly representing all Germany.

When the absolutist and anti-union reaction came to an end in 1859, political life began again in two parallel movements, the one toward liberal parliamentary government, the other toward a union of all Germany, including Austria. The two movements were abruptly checked by the personal action of Bismarck. Relying on the King of Prussia and the Prussian army, he imposed on Prussia the monarchical solution of the parliamentary struggle and on Germany the Prussian solution of German unity formulated in 1849. Both solutions were compromises between the popular wishes and the royal power, but compromises dictated by the King of Prussia, who reserved for himself the greater share of the advantage.

The German Empire, a compromise between a federation of the German nation and annexation of Germany to Prussia, was made up of German states and of Prussian conquests old and new, inhabited in part by aliens (Poles, Danes, and Alsace-Lorrainers); it was put under the government of the King of Prussia. *Germania*, it was said, is a daughter of *Borussia*, not of *Teutonia* (ancient Germany).

The constitutional system in Prussia and in the Empire is a

compromise between the liberal democracy of 1848 and the absolute monarchy of old Prussia. It is a personal government of the King, who retains all his bureaucratic and military apparatus, slightly controlled by a democratic representative assembly.

In this imperial democratic system, parties have not succeeded in constituting themselves with the same gradation as in the other great Continental states. The continuous chain which elsewhere extends from the Catholic extreme Right to the socialist extreme Left, is broken in Germany by the absence of the radical republican party, which was exterminated in 1849 and is represented only by the wreck called the People's party. The elements which would normally belong to a radical party are therefore obliged to join the socialists, who thus acquire exceptional strength. On the other hand, the Right is twofold, for the so-called "Centre" is politically a Catholic Right, a pendant of the Protestant Conservative Right, both of them champions of a monarchy in alliance with the Church.

German society, since the founding of the Empire, seems drawn in two opposite directions by two conflicting tendencies. The one is monarchical, bureaucratic, and military; springing from the Prussian government, it tends to mould all Germany on the Prussian model, by extending to it the old *régime* of divine right and ecclesiastical authority. The other tendency is democratic, springing from the new populations of the great cities and manufacturing districts, but now beginning to extend to the rural sections and to affect even the Conservatives through the Agrarian, Anti-Semitic, and Christian Social agitations. Between these two tendencies—the one monarchical, ecclesiastical, and military, incarnate in William II.; the other democratic, anti-clerical, and industrial—the contradiction is so evident that it brings on the whole political life of Germany a confused but undeniable unrest.*

* The German Empire has become since 1871 the second country of Europe in industry and commerce, and begins to compete with England in the production of coal, iron, and fabrics. The total population has risen from 42,000,000 in 1875 to 52,000,000 in 1895. The total urban population has, in the same period, increased from 36 per cent. to 47 per cent. of the whole. The population of Berlin has trebled in thirty years; it was 500,000 in 1860.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM IN AUSTRIA.

AFTER the war with Italy, Austria emerged from her absolutism, but, before becoming the constitutional dual monarchy of Austro-Hungary, she passed through a critical period, from 1859 to 1867, during which even the constitution of the monarchy remained in a provisional and precarious condition, many times transformed and always contested by some of the nations subject to the Emperor. It is a short period in the history of Austria, but very clearly marked and decisive, between the old centralized absolutist system and the Austro-Hungary of the present day.

FORMATION OF AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

The Constitution of October, 1860.—The absolutist system, restored in 1849, fell in the disastrous Italian war of 1859; the government itself had to recognise the necessity of abandoning it. For a long time the government had existed with a chronic deficit, which it covered by loans. After its defeat, when it wished to reorganize the army, it found its credit gone (in 1860 only 75,000,000 florins were subscribed in response to a call for a loan of 200,000,000). Evidently the subjects had lost their interest in state affairs, in which they had no part whatever. To revive public life the people must be given a share in the government.

The Emperor, immediately after the end of the war, recognised in a manifesto (August, 1859) the "hereditary abuses" which had caused the defeat, and before issuing the loan of 1860 he determined to appeal directly to his subjects, asking their aid in exchange for liberal reforms. He announced that he would grant representation to the various provinces of the monarchy. Meanwhile he convoked a "re-enforced Council of State" (*verstärkter Reichsrath*), comprising the ordinary members of the Council of State, a number of dignitaries, and 38 notables (including several grand seigneurs) chosen from the different countries in such manner that all were represented.

This Council, where the office-holders and aristocracy predominated, was to give its opinion especially on financial questions and the most important laws, but it had no right of proposing measures. Austrians regarded it simply as an instalment of the promised reforms. The notables that were summoned, even the Hungarian nobles, attended the meetings, but simply as a mark of their good-will. Further, it was necessary, in order to induce them to come, to re-establish a single governor instead of four, and to promise the restoration of the county "congregations" (assemblies), as before the reaction of 1849.

In the "re-enforced council" the Hungarians declared "that they did not regard themselves as representative Hungarians, that they reserved the *historic rights* of Hungary, and counted on the Emperor to find a means of abandoning the special system." A committee was then appointed to examine the budget. It unanimously condemned "the system of internal organization in the monarchy" and demanded that "the different countries should share in the administration of their affairs," as the only means of effecting economies and especially of combating "that numbness of public spirit which paralyzes the moral force of the state."

But on the organization of this administration by the countries themselves the committee was divided, and from the time of this first assembly, though so narrow and so little representative, two parties appeared, the unitarian and the federalist, whose strife was henceforth to rule political life in the Austrian monarchy.

The unitarian party had its chief force in the middle classes of the German provinces, for "the maintenance of the unity of the monarchy" meant government by the German administration established in Vienna; this was the party of the cities and manufacturing regions, which had need of a strong central government to make liberal reforms and to restore a lay *régime* in spite of the clergy. They had for allies the representatives of the little nations, who needed a central government to protect them against their stronger neighbours; in 1860 there were no small nations represented except those of Hungary: the Servians, and the Saxons in Transylvania; but the others, when they should get a voice in the assemblies, were sure to pursue the same policy.

The federalist party was mainly composed of nations that were strong enough to hope for national governments independent of the centre: Magyars, Croats, Czechs, Poles, and Slovens (in 1860

the Italians of Venetia). It demanded the *historic rights*, that is to say, the independence enjoyed by the nation before its union with the monarchy, and wished to weaken if not suppress the common administration and reduce the monarchy to a federation of nations. As the aristocratic form of society still prevailed, each nation was represented almost solely by its nobles and higher clergy. The federalist party was also an old-*régime* party, invoking historic rights in order to return to the old aristocratic government of the nation and wishing to maintain the domination of nobility and clergy. Its allies in the German province were the old-régimists,—the lords, who opposed the bourgeoisie, and the clergy, who opposed purely lay government.

The committee split into a majority and a minority; each presented its report, in which already it made use of expressions which were destined to become classic in Austria.*

The federalist majority (25 votes, of which 13 belonged to nobles, 3 to bishops) demanded "recognition of the historico-political individualities of the particular countries," "equality of all the countries within the monarchy," and for each "autonomy in administration and internal legislation." It advised that reform should be confined as much as possible to "previous institutions." The unitarian minority (13 votes) demanded that home rule should not be granted "at the expense of imperial *unity* and a strong central imperial power," and that in granting local powers "those rights should be reserved to the united state and to the imperial government, without which true imperial unity cannot be conceived." It advised the Emperor to establish these institutions "by virtue of his own full power," consequently to present them as *granted* in opposition to the theory of historical rights, which demanded them as the restoration of an old national right. It neglected to define the institutions to be created, not daring to speak of a "constitution," which was then regarded as revolutionary.

The Emperor at first followed the advice of the majority. By the diploma of October 20, 1860, he granted a "fundamental state law, permanent and irrevocable." This diploma recognised in the Diets of the various countries the power of voting laws, in accordance with historic forms. "In the countries under the crown of Hungary, action must be in conformity with their pre-

* The majority of these expressions, composed in the philosophic language of the German political law, cannot well be translated correctly into French.

vious constitutions"; in the others, in conformity with their local ordinances. For the case of laws common to the whole Empire, and especially on financial matters (taxes, loans, budgets, and accounts) an Imperial Council of 100 members was instituted, composed of delegates from the various Diets. The Emperor abolished the common ministers of interior, justice, and education and re-established the chancelleries of Hungary and Transylvania. He declared that institutions must "correspond to the consciousness of historic rights" of his "kingdoms and nations." This was the official recognition of the federalist theory.

The Constitution of 1861.—This first federalist constitution lasted four months. The Hungarians, restored to the possession of their constitution, declared null all acts done by the government without the consent of their Diet since 1848. They recognised no other constitution but that of '48, no other laws but those of '48, the only ones legally established by agreement between the Diet and the King. Now the *régime* of 1848 made Hungary an entirely independent state, joined to Austria by a simply *personal union*. The Emperor did not wish to go so far, since he created a legislative assembly common to all the states, including Hungary; but in restoring the Hungarian constitution he had forgotten to fix limits to what he granted them.

The Hungarians immediately conducted themselves as if the Constitution of '48 were still in force. The counties organized themselves, and conducted elections according to the laws of 1848, in spite of the government circulars issued to them, which they received and "deferentially" set aside. The people refused to pay taxes (because they were not voted by the Diet) or to obey Austrian magistrates. The imperial government and governors of the counties had no means of opposing this general movement. The Emperor complained of the condition of affairs and threatened not to convoke the Diet again. The counties replied with an address demanding the complete restoration of the laws of '48 and full amnesty for all who had taken part in the revolution (January, 1861).

Schmerling, the new minister of the interior (December, 1860), had just promised that the other countries in the monarchy should have Diets chosen by direct election, with public sessions and the right of proposing laws—which meant a constitutional government for each country. But the liberal bourgeoisie desired a like system for the general government. The minister of finance consulted the chambers of commerce on the means of

raising the very low value of paper money; all replied that a "real constitution" was the only way of curing "hereditary abuses."

The Emperor, unwilling to yield to Hungary and worried over the financial situation, adopted the advice of the unitary minority and promulgated a new constitution, the "patent" of February 26, 1861, which, while pretending to complete the diploma of 1860, replaced it with an altogether different system. Each country was to keep its Diet, organized by a special ordinance; Venetia and the countries under the crown of Hungary were not included. In the other countries the Diet was to be elected, according to class divisions, by three bodies of electors as the Prussian Provincial Estates were before 1848,—large landowners, cities, and rural districts,—so as to give a strong preponderance to the landed aristocracy. But the Imperial council became an actual annual parliament of the monarchy, comprising two Chambers. The *House of Lords* was composed of a number of dignitaries and hereditary lords appointed by the Emperor. The *House of Representatives* was to have 343 members chosen by the local Diets (Hungary 85, Transylvania 20, Croatia 9, Bohemia 54, Moravia 22, Galicia 38), reserving to the government the right of having them directly elected if necessary, by electoral bodies; this provided for the case of a Diet refusing to elect.

The Emperor promulgated "this collection of fundamental laws as the *Constitution* of his Empire" and promised that he and his successors should "maintain it inviolable" and that, at each accession, a special oath to this effect should be made by proclamation. By this granted constitution Austria became a constitutional monarchy after the Tory conception: the Emperor to choose his ministers at will and retain absolute control of the government; the council to have power only to vote laws and the budget, like the Chambers of Louis XVIII.

Attempt at a Unitary Government (1861-65).—The Constitution of 1861 answered the wishes of the unitary party, and received the support of the German liberals and the small nations: Serbs and Roumans, under the crown of Hungary; Ruthenians in Galicia, and Croats in Dalmatia. It displeased the aristocratic federalist party, and the strongly constituted nations, by subjecting them to an assembly common to the whole Empire, and the old-régimists by establishing a liberal constitutional system.

But the coalition that had composed the majority in 1860 broke up. The more independent nations declared the constitu-

tion contrary to their historic rights; consequently they refused to elect delegates to the *Reichsrath;* the Magyars, the Italians in Venetia, and the Croats held no elections and were not represented. But the other federalist nations did not at first dare to adopt such a radical policy; the Poles, Czechs, and Slovenians sent their deputies, but held to their historic rights. (In Istria and Transylvania the Diets had first refused; the government, by dissolving the Diet and changing the electoral law, secured a majority in favour of holding an election). The Tyrol, where the clerical party predominated, protested against equality in creed, and demanded the prohibition of Protestantism, but sent delegates nevertheless. The decisive action was taken by the great landowners, who were very strongly represented in the Diets. They deserted their federalist allies to obey the government. The *Reichsrath* was not complete; it lacked 140 deputies, but it was sufficiently large to take legal action as the "narrower council" for the non-Hungarian part of the Empire. Later, in 1863, when the government had organized the Diet of Transylvania, the Saxons, who were opposed to the Magyars, sent their deputies to the *Reichsrath,* and the Emperor declared it constituted as the "larger council," competent to direct the affairs of the whole monarchy.

The constitutional system began with a German ministry under Schmerling, who had been an imperial minister in 1848, an old liberal and German patriot. His policy was marked particularly by liberal and German declarations. This was the period of negotiations with the German states (1863; see p. 465). The House of Representatives of the Reichsrath, where the majority was German, approved this policy and voted an address begging the Emperor to tighten the tie with the German states.

This system at first met with resistance from nations unwilling to be governed by Germans, then from the Germans themselves who did not find the government sufficiently liberal.

The national resistance began in Venetia and in Hungary. The *Central Congregation,* or provincial assembly of Venetia, refused to send its delegates (1861). The Hungarian Diet, convoked by the government at Ofen (opposite Pesth), consented to hold a meeting. But immediately, on the question of the answer to be made to the Emperor, it broke into two almost equal parties. One wanted to reply by a *decision* of the Diet indicating that Hungary would not consent even to a discussion, but demanded the restoration of the Constitution of '48. The other, directed

by the old liberals, Déâk and Eötvös, proposed to adopt the more conciliatory form of an *address* to the King protesting against the new constitution. After three weeks of discussion the "address party" won the victory over the "decision party" (155 votes against 152). But the address was drafted in the form of a decision; instead of addressing itself to the King (according to Hungarian custom) the Diet used the term "Most gracious *lord*," indicating that it did not recognise the abdication of Ferdinand and Francis Joseph's accession. The Emperor refused to receive the address. The Diet consented to adopt the form of 1790, but at the same time declared that "the King of Hungary could legally become King only by coronation," and that coronation rested on certain *previous* conditions: 1. The union of the countries under the crown of Hungary (Croatia and Transylvania), whose deputies should sit in the Hungarian Diet; 2. The "complete restoration of the fundamental laws," which meant the Constitution of '48; 3. The "restoration of the parliamentary system with a responsible ministry." As for the general constitution, which made Hungary "an Austrian province," under "a body chiefly foreign," the Diet refused it as contrary to "the contract concluded between the nation and the reigning dynasty." It declared that it would never "sacrifice the constitutional independence of the nation for any sort of consideration or interests" (July, 1861); that it "could not make the Hungarian government dependent upon any other than the King of Hungary"; that it would not join in any general representation of the monarchy, and consented only to negotiate each question with the peoples of the hereditary states as one independent nation with other independent nations.

Neither of the two sides wished to negotiate until it should have secured from the other the formal recognition of its right: the Hungarians their historic constitution, the Emperor his granted constitution; the two rights being mutually contradictory, the negotiation ended in an official rupture. The government returned to its policy of repression as a *provisional* system, to wear out the patience of the Hungarians. But the Hungarians did not yield, and the system remained in force until 1866. The Croats also refused to join the *Reichsrath*, as long as the government refused them union with Dalmatia.

The less strongly organized nations, Poles and Czechs, who had begun by joining in the *Reichsrath*, gradually changed their policy. It seemed to them more advantageous to imitate the

Hungarians. The Poles withdrew from the *Reichsrath;* the Czechs, after winning the majority in the Bohemian *Landtag,* refused to send their delegates. There remained in the *Reichsrath* only Germans and representatives of the little nations.

Meanwhile the ministry disagreed even with the German party in the *Reichsrath,* principally on its financial policy; the deficit continued, the debt increased, and the ministry was obliged to confess that it had concealed the deficit by cooking of the accounts. The German liberal party reproached the ministry with having reduced the constitutional system to a fiscal process, to obtain money. The Chamber demanded first a balanced budget (1864), then a reduction in expenses (1865), and finally refused to sanction a loan.

Suspension of the Constitution.—The Emperor had accepted the Constitution of 1861 in order to maintain unity between his states and to aid his government to perform its offices. The system worked badly in one part of the monarchy; in the other the population refused it, and it was impossible even to convoke an assembly of representatives of the empire. The *Reichsrath,* so far from aiding the ministers, hindered them by demanding accounts. The Emperor, disgusted with this failure, returned to the Austrian tradition of *dualism.* Finding in Hungary a distinct nation too independent to enter a centralized monarchy, the Emperor resigned himself to its separation from the rest of the monarchy, that he might have it for an ally.

Then began negotiations with the Hungarians to reconcile their *historic rights* with imperial unity. In order to avoid being interfered with during these negotiations, the Emperor got rid of the Reichsrath, the German liberal ministry (July 27), and finally the constitution. He declared (September 20) that, "having decided to come to an understanding with the legal representatives of his peoples in the eastern regions," he found it "necessary to suspend (*sistiren*) the constitution." The *suspension* was announced as provisional. But the new ministry (Belcredi) was composed of nobles of the aristocratic party. So the suspension was denounced as a *coup d'état* by German liberals and was received with joy by the federalists in Poland and Bohemia, and the Catholic party in the Tyrol. The Hungarian and Croatian Diets were convoked to discuss the conditions of the agreement; the Empire recognised the laws of '48 *in principle,* on condition that the Diet should revise them in accordance with the requirements of unity. The negotiations began in December, 1865, but

were interrupted by the war of 1866, and were not completed until 1867.

It became necessary to choose between two systems: dualism, which would divide the Empire between two nations only (the crown of St. Stephen for the Magyars, the imperial crown for the Germans); and federalism, which would break it up into an indefinite number of states. The ministry promptly decided in favour of the federalists, and convoked a special Reichsrath, where the majority was federalist. But the members from the German countries refused to take their seats, so the Reichsrath found itself no longer large enough to discuss the compromise to be concluded with Hungary.

It was the former prime minister of Saxony, von Buest, who, having entered the service of Austria after the war of 1866, induced the Emperor to renounce federalism. The Beust ministry (February, 1867) put an end to the *suspension* by establishing dualism and the constitutional system.

The Hungarian Compromise.—The compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867 was the first work of the new government. It cut the Empire into two states, strictly equal in rights, both subject to the same sovereign, though under two different titles, *Emperor* of Austria and *apostolic King* of Hungary, with the same flag (the imperial eagle). The monarchy officially adopted the double title of Austria-Hungary. The division was made according to historic traditions: the state of Hungary was composed of the countries under the crown of St. Stephen (Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Transylvania, Servia, and the military frontier), the state of Austria including all the rest (17 provinces). The two groups were designated by names already in use, *Cisleithania* (Austria) and *Transleithania* (Hungary). These were exact geographical terms when applied to the *province* of Austria and the *kingdom* of Hungary, which were separated by the Leitha river, but have become purely conventional by extension to all the countries joined to Austria, of which several (Galicia, Bukovina) are east of the Leitha. Each of the two states comprised a ruling race, which gave the government its national character, German in Cisleithania, Magyar in Transleithania, and several small peoples, mainly Slavs, less strongly organized and less civilized. Beust is said to have remarked to the Hungarian ministry: "Take care of your barbarians, we will take care of ours."

The two states were joined, not by a simply personal union,

as in 1848, but by a common government directing common affairs. These affairs were of two sorts:

1. Affairs common to the two halves of the Empire were reduced to three classes: foreign affairs, army and navy (except the fixing of the number of troops and the regulation of military service), and finances connected with the common expenses. These subjects were assigned to three imperial ministers, in theory responsible at once to the parliaments of both states.

2. Affairs to be settled on common principles by agreements made from time to time (commerce, customs tariffs, currency, military system, and factory legislation).

For the management of affairs of the first class, the compromise of 1867 establishes, side by side with the common ministry, the institution known as the *delegations*. These are two bodies of delegates from the two parliaments, 60 from each, of whom 40 are in each case chosen by the lower house and 20 by the upper house. In order to maintain the equality of the two halves, it was agreed that the delegations should meet alternately at Vienna and at Buda-Pesth. The two delegations sit separately, deliberating each in its own language, and communicating only by written messages; if they do not succeed in coming to an agreement they meet together, but simply to vote, without debate. The delegations are not a legislature; their chief function is to control the expenditure for the common purposes, and to exert a parliamentary influence over the common ministry. They have no power of taxation: the money needed for covering such expenditures as they approve is raised, under apportionment, by the two halves of the monarchy.

Affairs of the second class—those regulated according to identical principles—do not come within the field of the delegations. They are settled by agreements or contracts, negotiated from time to time between the two ministries (Austrian and Hungarian) and later carried through the two parliaments in substantially identical form.

The first contract established a system of common customs tariff, a bank, a common system of currency (with two different issues), and weights and measures. It divided the previous debt and expenses for the future; Hungary took only 30 per cent.

This system was an unprecedented creation, which the theorists were at a loss to define. It was not a federal state like North Germany. There were no permanent regulations for economic interests; the economic matters in common between the two

states, determined by temporary agreements of short date, were to be brought up for settlement periodically; either of the two parliaments could break the tariff union, destroy the bank, unity in economic legislation, and even unity of weights and measures. Nothing was to be permanent but the diplomatic and military union, and even this is not perpetual. Union has been concluded, not between the two states, but between each of them and the reigning dynasty; if the family of Lorraine should become extinct, the union would come to an end and Hungary would become an elective kingdom.

The Liberal Constitutions of 1867.—In each of the two states the compromise was accompanied by a restoration of the constitution and elective representation.

Hungary received the Constitution of 1848 again, revised by the King's request, so that he should have the right of choosing all the ministers. It was a very liberal constitution, similar to the Belgian. The King swore to uphold it. It guaranteed all personal and political liberties. It gave the executive power to a responsible ministry, the legislative power to a Diet composed of two Chambers. The Chamber of Magnates remained aristocratic, composed chiefly of hereditary nobles (more than 800 members). The Chamber of Deputies, which became in fact the principal assembly, was composed of deputies elected by public vote, under a very extended suffrage—with a low property qualification and very wide rights of voting based on education and occupation. Ability to speak Magyar is required.

In Austria the Constitution of 1861, modified by the "fundamental laws" of 1867, became also a liberal and parliamentary constitution. The law "on the general *rights* of citizens" proclaimed equality, according to the revolutionary formula: "All citizens are equal before the law; public employments are equally open to all." It recognised personal and political liberties according to liberal forms, and to reassure the non-German peoples, it proclaimed equality of language and race.*

The *Reichsrath* retained its organization, with a House of

* "All races in the state enjoy equal rights, and each has an inviolable right to its own nationality and tongue. The equal rights (*Gleichberechtigung*) of all the languages in use is recognised by the state in school, office, and public life. In countries peopled by a number of races, public educational institutions must be so organized that, without resorting to constraint to compel the learning of another language, each of these races shall receive the necessary privileges of instruction in their own tongue."

Lords and a House of Representatives (203) elected by the Diets of the 17 provinces.* The ministry was declared *responsible* to the *Reichsrath*, and the right of initiative was granted to that body.

The power was divided between the central *Reichsrath* and the local Diets, so that the *Reichsrath* should receive all that was deemed necessary to the maintenance of unity, not simply the powers conferred on the German *Reichstag* (common budget, military service, commerce, weights and measures, credit, transportation, public health, naturalization), but even the regulation of the freedom of the press, public meetings, association, "confessional relations," "educational *principles*," criminal justice, civil and commercial rights, and organization of courts and administration. To the Diets were intrusted "all other objects of legislation not expressly reserved to the *Reichsrath*." The constitution could be changed only by a two-thirds majority in the *Reichsrath*.

Austria became a liberal constitutional monarchy, almost parliamentary, with a representative system in three stages: in each of the 17 provinces a Diet (*Landtag*) voting the laws and the budget of the province; for Austria the *Reichsrath;* for the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy the *Delegations*.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Since 1867 Austria and Hungary have been two distinct states: each has its own domestic policy. But the common sovereign and foreign policy maintain between them a joint responsibility which affects even their domestic policy. I shall, therefore, give a parallel presentation of their history, divided into two periods by an historical incident, the occupation of Bosnia (1878), which, though outside of the monarchy, has modified the internal evolution of both states.

Conditions of Political Life in Austria.—Cisleithania was still a very heterogenous mixture of peoples. Political life, after 1867, continued to be subject to strife between races; parties were essentially national; they were grouped into Centralists, who advocated the common government under German officials, and Federalists, who advocated local governments under Slavs

* Bohemia 54, Moravia 22, Silesia 6, Galicia 38, Bukovina 5, Dalmatia 5, Lower Austria 18, Upper Austria 10, Salzburg 3, Styria 13, Carinthia 5, Carniola 6, Tyrol 10, Vorarlberg 2, Istria 2, Goerz-Gradisca 2, Trieste 2.

(Czechs, Poles, Slovenians, and Croats). The Germans broke into *political* parties also: the old-*régime* and Catholic party (*conservative*), and the democratic, anti-clerical party (*liberal*).

Political life was greatly complicated by the fact that the nations no longer corresponded to the sharp distinctions of race. "Races," in Austria-Hungary, were practically distinguished only by language; a man's nationality depended on the language he usually spoke; part of the Germans are Germanized Slavs.* So in each province the nations, or peoples speaking different tongues, are not juxtaposed, but entangled and superposed. In almost all the countries where the Slavs predominated, German remained the language of the cities, the great landlords, and educated men; for it was the language of commerce, the court, science, and literature. Italian played the same part on the Adriatic coast. There were countries which were altogether German, or rather Germanized, and exempt from this national strife; but in all the others the difference in tongue created enmity between the inhabitants of the same region, often of the same city even. The struggle was therefore carried not only into the *Reichsrath*, on questions of the general policy of the monarchy, but also into the Diet of each province, on questions of the rights of each race, which in reality resolved themselves into rights of those using the same language.

The constitution, in proclaiming the principle of "equal rights" of race and tongue in "school, office, and public life," had presented the language question without settling it. In practice it was possible to have primary schools for each language (not easily, however, in the villages of mixed tongues and in the cities where the families of a special tongue lived far apart). But should secondary education be given in the local tongue according to the principle of equality? Or would it be necessary, even in the interest of the scholars, to keep German as the language of education, that they might have access to modern science? A like embarrassment hindered the application of the principle of equality to "offices and public life." The unity of the monarchy required a state language for common operations. German had always been the language of the court, the government, and the army, and, besides, the only language in which the

* It would be out of place here to consider whether European races are distinct in the ethnological sense, that is to say, varieties of men with an anthropological character, fixed and transmissible, or differ only in language and education.

other nations themselves could communicate with each other.* It was clearly necessary to leave it this privilege and to restrict the equality to local administration and the courts. But there again, how should it be established in practice? It was not enough to draw up regulations and advice in various languages; every subject must be given the right to speak to the authorities and receive their answer, to present actions, and to receive judgment in his own tongue. But how could every office-holder be expected to have a fluent knowledge of every language in the province? Mixed primary schools, secondary and higher education, and the regulation of languages in the courts and administration, have thus been the principal fields of conflict.

In these conflicts the position of parties was determined by the electoral organization. The Constitution of 1867 had preserved the system of 1861, which rested not on the abstract right of suffrage, regarded as revolutionary, but on the "representation of interests." Four classes of electors had been established according to qualifications based on economic status: great landowners, chambers of commerce, cities, and rural districts; each class voted separately and elected its own deputies; in the rural districts the vote was in two degrees. Not only was the suffrage restricted, for there was a property qualification (varying in different provinces), even for city and rural voters; but it was also very unevenly distributed, for in the classes of great landowners and chambers of commerce, where voters were few, each vote had much more weight than in the city class, and in the latter more than in the rural districts. As the majority of great landowners, merchants, and manufacturers were either German or Germanized, this inequality in representation secured the Germans a majority in almost all the diets, even in the Slavic countries (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia), where the native population was represented only by rural districts. The German majorities in the Diets assured a German majority in the *Reichsrath.*

Political and National Parties.—The German provinces in the

* The following table, taken from the official census, gives the proportion of languages in 1869 and in 1890; the figures are given in millions:

	1869	1890		1869	1890
German, . . .	7.1	8.5	Slovenian, . .	1.19	1.20
Czech, . . .	4.7	5.5	Croatian, . . .	0.52	0.65
Polish, . . .	2.44	3.8	Italian, . . .	0.58	0.67
Ruthenian, . .	2.58	3.0	Rouman, . . .	0.20	0.20

central regions were divided, not into nationalist parties, but into Liberal and Catholic parties, like those of other countries. The Liberals predominated in the industrial provinces of the east, Lower Austria (where Vienna is situated), Styria, the region of the metallurgic industry, and Carinthia. The Catholic strength lay in the mountains of the west, where the peasants were still under clerical influence; they had a permanent majority in the Tyrol, and won it in Vorarlberg and Salzburg. In Upper Austria the majority depended on the great landowners, who followed the government.

The Slovenian province of Carniola became the centre of the Slovenian national party, which secured the equality of Slovenians in Carniola and claimed it for the provinces where Slovenians remained subject to the Germans (Carinthia and Styria), or to the Italians (Istria, Goerz, and Trieste).

In the southern provinces the Italians at first predominated; then little by little they gave place to the Slavic population of the country, the Slovenians in Istria, Goerz, Gradisca, and Trieste, and the Croats in Dalmatia. The defection of the great landowners lost them the Diet in Dalmatia; the Croat majority made Croatian the language of the province. In the Tyrol the regional division of races still obtained: Germans in the north, Italians in the south; the Italian minority demanded a separate administration for the Italian districts.

In the northern provinces, where the Slavs were strongest, parties divided on nationalist lines.

Bohemia was the centre of the Czech party. The Czechs controlled the country parts and occupied at least two-thirds of the kingdom; but the great landowners assured a strong majority to the German party in the Diet until the government, which had now allied itself to the Czechs, gained the election of a majority on their side (1879). In the old provinces now joined to Bohemia (Moravia and Silesia), where the great mass of the people were Czech, the Germans held their majority, thanks to the cities and landowners.

In Galicia the Polish party predominated, directed by the Catholic aristocracy, to which the mass of the Polish population was still subject. The Ruthenians had never had a political power proportionate to their numbers; they had remained a rural class, socially inferior, and even in the Ruthenian region a portion of the deputies are still Poles. The Galician Diet has always been controlled by a majority of Polish nobles; the Ruthenian

minority confined itself to asking for autonomy for its schools and church (United Greeks).

Bukovina, where the people are Roumanian, has led only a feeble political existence. At first it sent ministerial deputies to the *Reichsrath;* then the Roumanian national party finally gained possession of a majority in its Diet.

Thus, at the beginning of the constitutional system, there already existed in Austria two German political parties, liberal and conservative (which were to subdivide into groups), and seven nationalist parties (Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenians, Italians, Croats, and Roumanians), whose policy consisted principally in trying to gain from the central government concessions for their languages and their national autonomy. These parties in the Reichsrath were organized in extra-parliamentary meetings called clubs. Each formed only a slight minority. So there has never been in the Reichsrath a homogeneous majority composed of a single party. The majority has always been a coalition between parties.

The leading question in domestic policy was the adjustment of relations with the clergy. Should the official power of the Church be maintained as it was established by the Concordat of 1855 (see p. 422), with prohibition of non-Catholic public worship and clerical control of schools? Or should the German lay system be adopted? The liberal party, composed, like the national liberal party in Germany, of the imperialist and anti-clerical middle class, demanded, first of all, ecclesiastical and educational reform. It was sub-divided into two clubs, progressive and liberal. The Conservative party demanded the maintenance of the old ecclesiastical and economic system; it was composed of two sets of opponents to the liberals, German Catholics and conservatives from the little countries (Slovenians and Croats).

National politics were occupied at once with the language question and the rights of local Diets. The Germans wished to retain German as the state language for the courts, administration, and secondary schools. The other races, in proportion to their power, demanded either simply the administration of their own schools and churches, administrative autonomy, complete equality of their language, or independence of their Diet.

In foreign affairs the German liberals favoured Germany and Italy, while the Catholics were hostile to them. Among the Slavic races, the Czechs, in their rôle of Panslavists, were enthusiastically friendly toward Russia and hostile toward Ger-

many; the Poles still hated Russia irreconcilably; the Slovenians, Croats, and Ruthenians had Russian sympathies.

In this intersection of political contradictions, which seemed to permit only temporary combinations, the various parties in Austria have, however, united in more lasting coalitions than in Germany. A social affinity attracted the aristocratic Polish and Czech clubs to the German conservative clubs: a common hostility united the national "historic rights" parties and the old-régimists against the new centralized and liberal constitution. There was a natural coalition between the Slavs, the aristocrats, and the Catholics.

After 1867 the Emperor governed as a constitutional sovereign, and even seemed to adopt the practices of the parliamentary system, for the ministry always had a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. But, in contradiction to the parliamentary system, the Emperor did not choose his ministers from the majority in the Chamber; following out his personal policy, he chose ministers who made a majority for themselves in the Chamber. The electoral system of classes created among the deputies a social division which prevented the formation of an independent government majority. In practice the deputies from the property-holding classes always followed the ministry, and their votes sufficed to give the majority to one or other of the coalitions. (In the House of Lords the ministers could directly control the balance of parties by appointing new life members.) Thus the majority depended on the landowners, the landowners on the ministry, and the ministry on the Emperor. The Emperor could, therefore, choose with which party he would carry on the government. But between the two coalitions he has never been able to make a definite choice. As a German, and in the interests of his empire, he leans toward the German Centralist coalition; as an aristocrat and Catholic, he personally prefers the aristocratic federalist coalition. His oscillations between the two have been the controlling factor in the political history of Austria.

The Liberal Ministry (1867-70).—The Emperor began by giving the ministry and the majority to the German liberal party, which accepted the new Constitution of 1867 without reservation. The Auersperg ministry was principally occupied with the ecclesiastical struggle. The official authority of the Catholic clergy, which the Concordat of 1855 had formally recognised, found itself in irrevocable contradiction with the Constitution of 1867, which guaranteed complete religious liberty. The minis-

try, without repudiating the Concordat, passed laws which practically abrogated it. 1. Jurisdiction of marriage affairs was restored to the lay courts and a civil form of marriage was created for cases where the Church refused to perform the ceremony. 2. The law on the relations between school and Church established the principle that: "The superior direction and supervision of education belong to the state and are exercised by the organs which it creates for the purpose." In consequence, all public schools were opened "to all citizens without regard to creed," and educational offices were declared "equally accessible to all citizens"; churches and religious societies of all creeds received the right to maintain private schools. 3. The law on "interconfessional relations" established religious equality and recognised the right of every subject to choose his religion and that of his children, to be buried in the public cemetery, and to enjoy unrestrained freedom in religious exercises.

These laws, which were carried with difficulty through the House of Lords (1868), put an immediate stop to the compulsive authority of the clergy; they established freedom of religion and made education independent of the Church. This was the chief ground of opposition. The concordat had been a treaty between the Emperor and the Pope: the Catholic party declared that it could be abrogated only by a new treaty with the Pope. The government, on the contrary, claimed, in the name of the sovereignty of the state, the sovereign power of regulating internal affairs. A theoretical conflict ensued between the two authorities, state and Church. The Pope, in an address (June, 1868), called the Constitution of 1867 "really deplorable" (*infanda sane*) and the laws of 1868 "abominable." "By virtue of the apostolic authority," he "rejected and condemned these laws," declaring them "void for the present and the future." In consequence of this a number of bishops refused to issue papers in matrimonial causes; the Archbishop of Linz, who resisted with force, was tried and condemned, in 1869, but afterward pardoned.

The ministry had to reorganize the army and the financial system. It adopted the Prussian system of a universal military service of three years, but with a *garde mobile*, on the French plan. The contingent was divided into two parts, one doing effective service (three years in the active army, seven in the reserve, two in the *Landwehr*), the other remaining twelve years in the *Landwehr*. By making it a Cabinet question, the ministry secured the exemption of the number of the effective forces from

annual discussion, as in Germany; the figure was fixed for ten years. In financial affairs, the ministry renounced the system of chronic deficit and loans: it re-established the balance by taxes and a partial bankruptcy under form of a tax on the interest of government bonds. The ministry was always supported in the Chamber of the *Reichsrath* by a majority composed of German liberals and great landowners. But the Slavic national parties offered a vigorous resistance which finally defeated the ministry.

The Czech party refused to sit in the Bohemian Diet. In the *declaration* of August, 1868, the Czech nation set forth its theory and claims: between the Emperor, its hereditary King, and the "political nation of Bohemia" exists a contract renewed at each succession by the King's coronation oath and the representatives' oath of homage. The Kingdom of Bohemia is joined to Austria only by a dynastic union (which would expire with the dynasty); it preserves its "historic and rightful individuality." This constitutional relation cannot be changed legally except "by a new contract between the King of Bohemia and the lawful representatives of the people." No outside representative body, not even the *Reichsrath*, has the right to impose a debt or taxes on Bohemia. The Hungarian compromise has robbed the Constitution of 1860-61 of all value. Bohemia could no longer recognise the *Reichsrath*, which now represented only "a chance group without historical foundation." The constitutional contest cannot be settled except by an agreement between the King and the people.

The Czechs took toward the Emperor exactly the same attitude that the Hungarians had taken previous to 1867. They, too, claimed the position of an independent nation in the name of "historic right" and "personal union." They too demanded the reconstitution of the Middle-Age kingdom by the reunion of the three "countries under the crown of Wenceslaus" (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia). It was the same historic theory, the same tactics: to recognise the Emperor by the title of *King* only, and to refuse to enter into relations with the other countries of the Empire. But the actual situation was not the same. The Magyars had always been self-governing; the absolutist system attempted after 1849 had been too short-lived to disorganize them; they had found themselves still intact, with their aristocracy still national, and had unanimously decided to repulse any form of foreign government. The Czechs had had their reaction in 1620, and their centralization had already endured two and a half

centuries; half of the aristocracy and a third of the population were foreigners, accustomed to treat Czechs as inferiors and ready to defend the government of Vienna. In Moravia and Silesia the foreign element controlled the country. The Germans answered the Czech declaration with the theory that Bohemia had no special historic right and consequently no other law than the constitution granted by the Emperor.

The Polish party set forth its theory in the *resolution* passed by the Polish majority in the Galician Diet. Not being able, like the Magyars and Czechs, to invoke the right of forming an independent state, it confined itself to demanding "national autonomy." It reproached the Constitution of 1867 with "not granting the amount of legislative and administrative independence" to which the country was entitled. It therefore demanded that "the Galician delegation should not take part in the deliberations of the *Reichsrath* except in the case of matters common to this kingdom and the other countries." It wished to reserve for the Diet legislation on matters of commerce, credit, education, public health, penal law, judicial and administrative organization.

Attempt at a Federalist Constitution (1870-71).—The opposition, adopting the policy of abstinence which had brought success to the Magyars, refused to sit in the *Reichsrath.* The constitution gave the government an easy means of action against a Diet which should refuse *en masse* to choose delegates to the *Reichsrath;* this was the right to have delegates directly elected by the voters who chose the members of the Diet. But against the delegates of a Diet who *individually* refused to take their seats in the *Reichsrath* the government was powerless. Meanwhile, in Vienna, the workingmen, organized by German socialists, came before the Chamber with a great demonstration and presented a petition for universal suffrage, freedom of public meeting, association, and the press (December, 1869).*

The Emperor began by dismissing the aristocratic minority of the ministry (December, 1869). But all the opposition parties withdrew from the *Reichsrath,* the Tyrolean Catholics, the Galicians, Slovenians, Italians from Trieste and Istria, and the Roumans from Bukovina; there remained hardly any but Germans, who just made up a quorum. The centralist ministers demanded the dissolution of the local Diets. The Emperor refused.

* The military law brought on an insurrection of Slav mountaineers in southern Dalmatia; the government subdued it only by renouncing the introduction of the Landwehr into this region (1869-70).

He changed his system and determined to make terms with the Slavic nationalist aristocracy, as he had done in 1865 with the Magyar aristocracy. Meanwhile he took a transitional ministry (April, 1870) under a Pole, Potocki.

The uncertainty caused by the Franco-Prussian war put a temporary check upon the Emperor's plans. But the war over, he called a federalist ministry with an aristocratic chief (Hohenwart) and two Czech members (February, 1871). The parties were of two groups: *constitutionalist* (*Verfassungstreu*), which wanted to preserve the centralist constitution of 1861; *federalist*, which demanded an increase of power for the local Diets. The federalist ministry had the Diets dissolved that had a German constitutionalist majority; and the landowners, who always supported the ministry, turned the balance in favour of the federalists.

The Czechs joined the coalition only on the condition of independence for Bohemia. Their chiefs negotiated personally with the Emperor, who announced the outcome in a message (September 12, 1871). He declared himself "willing to recognise the rights of this kingdom," and ready to renew the coronation oath. The Bohemian Diet replied with 28 fundamental articles establishing for Bohemia the same system of union as that of Hungary.

A violent agitation arose all through the German states: the Diets protested, the newspapers threatened, the people held mass-meetings. The Emperor, however, was most influenced by the fact that Chancellor Beust and the Hungarian ministers, disturbed by the Czech Panslavism, joined hands against the federalists. A council which was held between the leading ministers (October, 1871) determined the Emperor to return to the Constitution of 1867. The Hohenwart ministry withdrew. Then Beust, its principal opponent, suddenly fell into disgrace and was replaced in the foreign affairs of Austria-Hungary by a Hungarian, Andrassy. (The title of Chancellor was suppressed.)

Electoral Reform and Constitutionalist Ministries (1871-78).— In returning to the constitution, the Emperor took a German ministry again (Auersperg); a new dissolution of the Diets restored the majority to the German constitutionalist party in the *Reichsrath*. In turn the Czechs, Slavs, and Catholics refused to sit in it. But the ministry had won over the Poles and the Dalmatian Croats. It now renewed the project of election by direct vote.

Although electoral reform had been accepted in principle, it was not accomplished for more than a year. All were agreed that the number of deputies should be increased; but the liberals proposed to distribute the additional seats among the least represented classes; the ministry was unwilling to sacrifice the privileges of the propertied classes, whose support it would need in making up the two-thirds necessary to a change of constitution.

The electoral law of 1873 passed the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 120 against 2. For election of the deputies by the local Diets it substituted election by the voters. But it applied to these elections the system of classes used in the election of members of the local Diets.*

The number of deputies was increased to 353: 85 to landowners, 137 to cities and chambers of commerce, 131 to rural districts (these by indirect election). There was still an enormous inequality of representation (in 1890, 1 deputy to 63 electors in the property holders' *curia*, 1 to 27 in the chambers of commerce, 1 to 2918 in the cities, 1 to 11,600 in the rural districts). The Germans still held the majority. (Up to 1878 there were in the Chamber of Deputies about 220 Germans, against 115 Slavs and 15 Italians.)

*The following table gives the distribution of seats among the classes and provinces:

	Rural Districts.	Cities.	Chambers of Commerce.	Great Landowners.
Bohemia,	30	32	7	23
Moravia,	11	13	3	9
Galicia,	27	13	3	20
Lower Austria,	10	17	2	8
Upper Austria,	7	6	1	3
Styria,	9	8	2	4
Carinthia,	4	3	1	1
Bukovina,	3	2	1	3

	Rural Districts.	Cities and Chambers of Commerce.	Great Landowners.
Dalmatia,	6	2	1
Istria,	2	1	1
Goerz,	2	1	1
Carniola,	5	3	2
Salzburg,	2	2	1
Tyrol,	8	5	5
Vorarlberg,	2	1	0
Silesia,	3	4	3

Trieste: 4 (elected by 3 electoral bodies and 1 chamber of commerce).

The ministry, supported by the German Constitutionalist majority, resumed its anti-clerical policy. The "May Laws" (1874), so called in imitation of the German laws of the Culturkampf, formally abolished the system of the concordat. They obliged the bishops to report to civil authority all vacancies in Church offices and all nominations, and recognised the right of non-Catholics to found religious societies. The Pope protested; he wrote to the Emperor, who replied by entrenching himself behind the rights of the Reichsrath.

There was under this ministry a fever of stock-jobbing like that of the "promoters" in Berlin (p. 496). The fictitious values created by the banking societies, railroad and building corporations suddenly fell in the famous Vienna crash (May 9, 1873), a gigantic collapse of the stock-exchange, which was followed by a long business depression.

In the *Reichsrath* the Constitutionalist party had organized into distinct clubs, which were, however, united to support the ministry: the United Left, nicknamed "the Young Ones" (about 65 deputies), divided into *democrats* and *German nationalists*,—the Liberal Club (about 100), nicknamed "the Old Ones,"—the Centralist Right (about 60), a group of great landowners who made up the Coronini club, mainly Italians. The opposition consisted of the Polish club (between 40 and 45),—the Catholics, who were not yet organized,—the Hohenwart club (*Rechtspartei*), composed of federalists belonging to the small countries. The Czechs (more than 40) refused to attend the *Reichsrath* after the rupture of 1871.

Parties and Politics in Hungary (1867-78).—A period of political calm followed the compromise of 1867 in the Kingdom of Hungary. As in Austria, the compromise had given the government to the politically dominant race, though not the greatest numerically. Of a population of 16,000,000 souls, the Magyars numbered at that time hardly more than 6,000,000. But their relative force was much greater than that of the Austrian Germans. They constituted a compact nation with a patriotic aristocracy accustomed to ruling, very much in favour with the Emperor, and an inert and docile rural population. The commercial bourgeoisie, composed mainly of Germans and Jews, had no political force whatever. The other races were mainly composed of masses of peasants having no political interest, and, besides, cut off in the extremities of the kingdom,—the Slovacs in the northwest, the Roumans in the east (in Transylvania), and the

Serbs in the southeast. The German colonies scattered over the Hungarian plains, the Germans and Jews established individually in the cities, were absolutely without cohesion or national organization, and did not form a party. Two groups alone had a national organization: the kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia in the southeast, and the little group of Saxons in Transylvania (200,000 souls), a German colony which retained its German character, but whose growth in population was slight.

The government had at first but little to do with the Slovac peasants, who either did not vote at all or else voted for the Magyar nobles. The Serbs had their orthodox patriarch, their churches and their schools, and especially clung to their religious autonomy. Transylvania, where the government had opposed the Saxons to the Magyars by organizing an independent Diet (1849 and 1863), was incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary. It lost its Diet and its independent administration, and was divided into 75 districts directly represented in the Hungarian Diet. The Saxons joined the Magyars through fear of the orthodox Rouman peasants, who formed the base of the population: the electoral system of property qualification gave almost all the rural seats to the two aristocracies.

The Croats alone, who had in old times a constitution and were represented by an aristocracy, had been able to preserve their autonomy by taking advantage of the rivalry between Austria and Hungary. The *compromise* concluded between the Hungarian and Croatian Diets (1868) left to the united kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia its governor (*Ban*), its capital Agram, and its Diet composed of 75 members elected by property holders and 48 members by right (magnates and dignitaries). It was a self-governed state, with a national coat of arms, an official national language (Croatian), a system of justice, education, religion, and a legislative power exercised by the Diet. But it remained united to Hungary by very extensive "common affairs," which included, in addition to the affairs common to the two states of Hungary and Austria, all questions of commerce and of communication. In these matters, Croatia was represented in the government by a Croatian minister, in the Hungarian Diet by 40 delegates from the Diet at Agram, in the Imperial Delegation by 5 delegates. A financial agreement, made for ten years, divided the income from Croatian taxes between the two countries, granting 45 per cent. for Croatia's particular expenses, but fixing a minimum which Hungary must complete in case of a deficit.

The Hungarian government at Pesth appointed the *Ban;* it also imposed in 1868 an electoral system so arranged as to give the majority to the advocates of the compromise.

In the two Hungarian Chambers the secondary peoples had thus only insignificant minorities. The Diet was composed almost entirely of Magyars, and party division was based only on questions of policy. The situation was almost the same as in 1848. The *Right* or *moderate opposition,* the conservative party, especially numerous in the Chamber of Magnates, was still in favour at the court of Vienna; its aim was to maintain the aristocratic and Catholic *régime* as firmly as possible. The "address party," organized as the "Déâk Club," had accepted the compromise of 1867 and the agreement with Austria; it wished to establish in Hungary a liberal parliamentary system, at the same time preserving the administration by the nobility. The *Left,* formerly the upholders of the Constitution of '48, were hostile to Austria, demanded a personal union, and protested against the compromise of 1867 as contrary to national independence. The *extreme Left* was composed of democrats, followers of Kossuth, and exiles of 1848, irreconcilable enemies to Austria. (Kossuth, who had retired to Italy, refused to the day of his death, in 1894, to return to his native land or to recognise Francis Joseph.)

The government was always strictly parliamentary, the King choosing only those ministers who had the support of the majority in the House. But in Hungary, as in Italy, the ministry had until now always controlled the elections.

The Déâk party had at first a strong majority and became the liberal ministerial party. The liberal ministry concluded the arrangements with Austria and had the laws of 1848 revised. It then began the reorganization of the army, the administration, and the financial system. The active army remained common to all the states of the Empire, and retained German as the language of command. But the *Honveds,* corresponding to the *Landwehr,* became an exclusively Hungarian army. The counties remained self-governing, directed by a committee formed half of elected delegates, half of the heaviest taxpayers; none dared to make a complete reform, for fear of irritating the nobility. The liberal party had also in its program the separation of the state from Church authority (full religious liberty, civil marriage, abolition of compulsory confession of faith). The discussion of these reforms was, however, long delayed, for fear of driving the Catholic party into a coalition with the Left.

The principal matter was to secure national unity in the country by Magyarizing it. The government, with the aid of all parties, struggled to give Magyar the place occupied by German in Cisleithania—the language of the state and of civilization; it made it the language not only of the government and the University, but of the administration, courts, fiscal offices, and secondary public education. It was next introduced into the municipal council of Buda-Pesth (1872) * and in the railroads, where it had to be taught to employees. The scattered Germans became quickly Magyarized, and soon they even adopted Magyar names.†

The financial reorganization was so laborious that it produced a crisis in the parties. The deficit increased, credit diminished, and the ministerial party was weakened little by little. At the elections of 1869 it had lost 50 votes; after 1872 it sought to win over the Right. The main branch of the Left (*Left Centre*), under Tisza's direction, renounced the policy of a personal union and joined the Déâk party (1875) in trying to restore financial order. The liberals, thus re-enforced, had 329 seats against 88 opponents. They have always held their majority and governed Hungary without interruption. After the election of August, 1875, Tisza took the ministry and held it for over fifteen years.

In Croatia the *unionist* party, which had made the compromise of 1868, was accused of having sold itself to the Magyars, and of monopolizing all the official positions. The *nationalist* party won the majority in the Diet at Agram in 1872, and compelled the Hungarian government to appoint the President of the Diet as *Ban*.

Crisis of the Occupation of Bosnia (1878).—The compromise arranged between Austria and Hungary for ten years was renewed after two and a half years of laborious negotiations between the two governments. The two ministries secured its adoption only by agreeing to make it a question of confidence in the two parliaments.

* The new commune of Buda-Pesth, established as the capital of Hungary, was formed by the union of Pesth with the old German city of Ofen (Buda), on the other side of the Danube, and a number of suburbs.

† It is said that Mommsen, on his arrival at Pesth, declared that he had seen on his journey three persons of true Magyar type: Erdy, Matraï, Toldy; he was told that the real names of his three Magyars were Lutzenbacher, Rothcrebs, and Schaedel.—The famous artist Munkacsy was of German parentage.

The crisis in foreign affairs completed the rupture between the Emperor and the constitutionalist party. By the decisions of the Congress of Berlin, Austria undertook the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the name of the Sultan, with the object of restoring them to order. The Austrian army took possession of the territory without a battle. But immediately the Mussulmans in the mountains revolted; a war was inevitable and an army of 200,000 men was needed to carry it on. The expedition was a costly one, and even after peace was made the country proved too poor to share the expense. Occupation involved further increase in expenditure. In addition, it complicated the inter-racial strife. The provinces which were occupied had a population speaking the Croatian language, but divided among three religions: Mussulman, Orthodox, and Catholic. The Croatian nationalist party adopted the idea of a Greater Croatia which should unite all races speaking the Croatian tongue (Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia). This Slavic agitation was equally disquieting to both Hungary and Austria.

In both states the parliaments were displeased with the ministries for undertaking the occupation of Bosnia, and the additional expenditure it involved, without consulting them; they asserted that the treaty of Berlin ought to be laid before them for discussion. In both states the ministers, instead of resigning, asked the confidence of the House. In Hungary the address favourable to the government, in spite of the enormous ministerial majority, was carried by a majority of only 22. In Austria it was passed only through the support of the Poles and the Right, usually in opposition (1878).

The *Delegations* reduced the extra appropriations demanded for the Bosnia expedition (1878). The wrangling continued on the occupation question. The left wished to evacuate Bosnia, the government wished to organize a system of definite occupation—until the country occupied should be able to reimburse Austria for the expenses of occupation. Several attempts were still made to patch up the Constitutionalist ministry; then a provisional ministry was once more resorted to (February, 1879).

The Emperor, who placed his foreign policy before everything else, now made a new departure. He deserted the Constitutionalist party and returned to the aristocratic-federalist coalition. This necessitated a negotiation with the Czechs. This time these did not ask for the independence of the Kingdom of Bohemia. They consented to take seats in the *Reichsrath*, only

asserting that they "reserved the question of the constitution and crown of Bohemia" (1879).

At the elections of 1879 the great landowners once more upset the balance of parties. But the majority of the federalist coalition was still very weak. The 145 constitutionalists were in two clubs, 94 liberals, 51 progressists; the 168 federalists in three clubs, 54 Czechs, 57 Poles, and 57 in the Hohenwart club (German federalists, Slovenians, Dalmatian Croats). There were, besides 40 unclassified deputies, mainly great landowners. The minister of the interior, Taaffe, announced his intention of grouping them in a third party which should hold the balance between the two opposing parties. The Emperor charged him with the formation of a ministry.

Federalist Policy of the Taaffe Ministry (1879-93).—The Taaffe ministry, which was to last fourteen years, presented itself at first as a ministry of conciliation, formed of members of both parties. In reality, from its beginning it favoured the ristocratic federalist-Catholic coalition, and after 1880 its members were all federalists.

The German left opposed the ministry on its military law. They were no longer willing to vote it except for three years, and with a reduction of effective force; the ministry insisted that it should be passed for 10 years and with the same effective force. As this would require a two-thirds majority, the law, after having been twice defeated, was passed through the defection of a half of the liberal club (December, 1879). The federalist coalition, now become the ministerial party, accepted the constitution of 1867, using their support of the government to gain concessions in favour of the Slavic peoples and the Catholic clergy. By slow but constant effort the nationalist aristocracies and the clergy increased their influence at the expense of the German officials and the lay power.

The two Czech parties, Old and Young Czechs, united against the Germans. They secuured the division of the University of Prague into two universities, one German, the other Czech (1882), and later an ordinance from the minister of justice, Prazak (1886), obliging office-holders to answer the public in whichever of the two languages, Czech or German, the demand was presented. This was a means of shutting out German officers who were not familiar with Czech. Bohemia continued to be the most agitated province in the whole Empire, torn by Czech demonstrations, scuffles between Czech and German students at

Prague, struggles in the Diet, where the Czechs had finally (1883) gained the majority, and quarrels over the schools. The Germans, feeling themselves overpowered, asked first that Bohemia should be separated into two racial groups, each with its own language; then, adopting the tactics formerly pursued by the Czechs, they refused to sit in the Diet.

The Polish aristocratic party had already gained the upper hand in Galicia, where since 1877 it had reduced the Ruthenians to an insignificant minority in the Diet (10 in 150). The government abandoned Galicia to its management, confining itself to preventing official demonstrations against Russia, which would have interfered with its foreign policy.

The Slovenian party, having regained its majority in the Diet of Carniola (which it had lost from 1877 to 1883), completed the Slavicizing of that province.

The conservatives secured the abolition of industrial liberty. The law of 1883 restored compulsory corporations for a part of the industrial and commercial professions; no one could be admitted to them except after examination, with a certificate of capacity. They carried an electoral reform lowering the property qualification in the inferior electoral classes, granting suffrage to "5-florin men," who as a rule favoured the Catholic party (1882).

In the face of this coalition, rendered irresistible by its alliance with the Emperor, the German liberals were uncertain as to the policy they should pursue. At first they were divided. The progressist club, displeased at having been deserted in the fight against the military law, broke away from the liberal coalition (1879). They then came together in a "United Left" (1881), which took a German national character with the motto "unity of all Germans in Austria." Next this left broke in two, the *German Club* and the *Austro-German Club* (1885). Finally a part of the German club detached itself from the rest, as the "union of German *Nationalists*" who refused to desert the anti-Semites. At each election to the *Reichsrath* the Left suffered a loss. It lost its majority in the Delegation (1882). In 1885 it had fallen to 132 members; in 1891 to 110. The House of Lords, where the German party predominated, delayed the vote on the school law; but the ministry, by appointing new peers, finally gained a majority.

Outside of the *Reichsrath* the Socialist party was for a long time paralyzed by the depression following the financial crash,

then by the struggle between the socialists and anarchists. The anarchists, who were mainly Slavs, attempted the policy of terrorism by means of riots (1882-83). The government met them with martial law and special measures (1884-85).

The federalist coalition of the Taaffe ministry was dislocated by the democratic evolution of the Czech people. The democratic party of Young Czechs, formed in 1867, had always supported a political platform opposed to that of the Old Czechs: universal suffrage, liberty of the press and of public meetings, and lay schools. But it had consented to work against the Germans in harmony with the aristocratic party of Old Czechs. In 1887 it broke up violently on the national question. Gregr, the leader of the Young Czechs, reproached Rieger, the orator of the Old Czechs, with having said: "We must gather up the crumbs of our rights from under the table" (speaking of joining the ministry and Emperor). The Old Czechs, in accepting the Constitution of 1867 and the Triple Alliance, had sacrificed their former national platform: independence of the Bohemian crown, alliance with Russia, and hostility to Germany. The Young Czechs, taking up this program together with their democratic demands, entered upon an ardent campaign of protestations, mass-meetings, demonstrations in favour of France and Russia,* which in a few years gained them the majority in the cities and rural districts of Bohemia. The Old Czechs became alarmed, and persuaded the Germans in Bohemia to resume their seats in the diet. A compact was agreed upon (1890), but a number of the Old Czechs, the "realists," were frightened by the national agitation of the Young Czechs and dared not vote for it. In the *Reichsrath* elected in 1891 the Young Czech party had 36 deputies (against 12 for the Old Czech party). They produced a doubly revolutionary platform: in national affairs, an inde-

* 1887: manifestations by students for Gregr against Rieger; a meeting of 20,000 persons, where Gregr spoke against the feudal clerical alliance, passed a resolution declaring that the Czech people did not wish to become a nation of two tongues, that it wished the Czech language to predominate, and refused to renounce the rights of the Bohemian state.—1888: scene in the Diet (January). Popular meeting, program: Czech State with Czech as the state language, coronation of the King in Bohemia.—1889: the reading club at Prague sent delegates to Paris; address before the Students' Association: "We adore France." The Young Czechs demanded that the name of John Huss should be inscribed upon the museum at Prague; the Old Czechs refused the idea as an insult to the Catholic Church.—1892: delegation to the Nancy festival.

pendent Bohemia for Czechs alone, complete equality between Prague and Vienna, decentralization of railroads; in political affairs, universal suffrage, equality of labouring classes, diminution of the army. It supported this platform with violent speeches and fiery scenes in the *Reichsrath*, where it introduced its methods of popular national agitation.*

Meanwhile a democratic movement was beginning in the German cities and industrial regions. The "social democratic industrial party," built after the German model (1888), became strong enough to organize great demonstrations, May Day festivals in favour of an eight-hour day (1890-92), and petitions for universal suffrage. In Vienna, where the population, more and more heterogeneous, was composed of Germans, Jewish merchants, and Czech labourers, an anti-Semite party was founded; it was a coalition of revolutionists and Catholics, which finally won the municipal council of Vienna and the Diet of Lower Austria. The anti-Semite movement was also manifested by declarations to the Chamber and in newspapers and street riots.

German-Polish Coalition and Electoral Reform of 1896.—The Emperor became alarmed by the growth of these revolutionary parties, threatening, as they did, both his domestic policy by democratic claims and his foreign policy by assailing the German alliance. The Taaffe ministry wavered, negotiated first with the German Left (1892), then with the Czechs (1893), then placed Prague under martial law, suspending trial by jury and liberty of the press, and finally brought forward a scheme of radical electoral reform. In the two classes of the cities and rural communes (which elected 268 out of 353 deputies) it proposed to extend the right of voting to all who should prove a six-months' domicile and ability to read and write; this would have increased the number of voters from 1,500,000 to 4,500,000.

The Conservative and German parties combined against this project. The Emperor came to an understanding with them, and formed the Windischgraetz ministry (November, 1893), supported by the most heterogeneous coalition that had yet been seen in Austria: the German parties (Left, Liberals, and Catho-

* 1891: Gregr compared Bohemia to a lemon squeezed by Austria; the Czechs feel themselves in the captivity of Babylon; the whole Slavic nation is crushed by Austrian centralization as if in the arms of a vampire.—1892 (November 18): Speech by Masaryk against Germanization; Mayer replied that the Germans consider it an act of high treason to speak of the State of Bohemia; his voice was lost in the clamour of Czech and Slovenian deputies.

lics), the Hohenwart Club, and the Polish Club opposing the Young Czechs, friends of Russia. In order to quiet the agitation in favour of electoral reform, the ministry proposed to create a new group of 43 members elected by universal suffrage (1894). But the coalition could not agree as to the details, and it fell to pieces on the question of a public grant in aid of a Slovenian secondary school in Styria. The German Left refused to vote for the grant and deserted the coalition, whereupon the ministry resigned.

After a provisional business ministry (June, 1895), the Badeni ministry was formed, resting on a coalition of the Conservative parties, the Polish Club, the Hohenwart Club, Liberal party, and Catholic party, with a policy of conciliation on a conservative basis: to take account at once of the claims of the nationalities and of the "traditional position" and more advanced "civilization" of the German people; "to prevent the overthrow of social order and to cultivate the religious feelings and religious education of youth."

The Polish aristocratic party had broken with the Czechs, now become democrats: it left the Slavic coalition to join a coalition of anti-democratic Germans, of which it assumed the leadership. Badeni, the prime minister, and Goluchowski, the common minister of foreign affairs, are Poles. The conflict was now between the aristocratic coalition, supported by the Emperor, and the new democratic parties, the Young Czechs in Bohemia, the socialists and anti-Semites in Austria.

The government, under the pressure of public opinion, has made an electoral reform (1896) which, without changing the former classes, creates a fifth class of 72 deputies, elected by districts, by universal suffrage (direct in six large cities, indirect elsewhere).

Political Struggles in Hungary since 1878.—In Hungary the liberal ministerial party preserved a sufficiently large majority to carry on the government. It continued to Magyarize the schools, and accomplished a number of reforms without inconveniencing itself. The House of Magnates was reduced in membership (1886); the term of office for the House of Deputies was increased from three to five years (the Left's demands for extended suffrage and secret ballot were rejected). The government took possession of the railroads, and adopted the famous zone tariff (1889). The ten-year agreement with Austria was renewed without difficulty for 1888-98. The political struggles

among Magyars had reference to secondary questions only. The Left struggled against the ministry, by preventing reform in the counties (1891), and especially by organizing great demonstrations in honour of Kossuth (1890 and 1894). The right had opposed the reform of the ecclesiastical system. The ministry had finally decided (1893) to present laws for the establishment of civil marriage, religious liberty, legal equality of the Jews. These laws, passed in the House by both the left and the ministerial party, were rejected by the Magnates, who were said to have the secret support of the King. Against the civil-marriage law the clergy had organized an agitation all over the country. It was finally passed when the ministry secured the King's permission to create new magnates to make up a majority (1894). These two crises caused ministerial changes. The Kossuth agitation led to Tisza's retirement in 1890; the agitation against civil marriage, in 1894, forced Wekerle to give place to Banffy.

The struggle was more intense between the Magyars and the small nationalities.

In Croatia, especially, the National party, excited by the occupation of the new Croat-speaking provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina, had once more taken up the scheme of a Greater Croatia, which should be independent of Hungary and joined to the monarchy by a personal union. The Agram Diet voted an address to the Emperor (1878), demanding a union of Dalmatia and Bosnia. In renewing the Hungarian compromise it demanded the annexation of the *Military Frontier* to Croatia. This province, peopled by Croatian soldiers, had been, since the abolition of its special government (1866), in a provisional condition; it was finally incorporated with Croatia and was represented in the Agram Diet. The Diet also demanded the port of Fiume (1881), but Hungary has retained her provisional governor there.

Croatia, now enlarged, kept up its stolid national opposition against the Hungarian government, interspersed with violent outbreaks. A radical party, which had been formed by the side of the nationalist ministerial party, demanded a personal union. In 1883 the Hungarian minister of finance had set up over the finance offices at Agram coats of arms bearing inscriptions in both Magyar and Croat. A mob tore them down and the Ban refused to restore them. The Hungarian government sent soldiers to put them up again, appointed another Ban, and adjourned the Diet; it then resigned itself to omitting the inscrip-

tions from the coats of arms (1883). But the patriotic agitation in Croatia had been so vigorous that in 1884 the Radical party increased from 17 to 24 deputies. The Hungarian government ordered the Agram archives to be transported to Buda-Pesth (1885); this gave rise to violent scenes in the Diet; two Radical deputies were condemned to imprisonment. The government majority, which was striving to maintain the union with Hungary, was still strong enough to contend against the Greater-Croatia party; but the agitation was still actively carried on. During the Emperor's visit to Agram a Magyar flag was burned by the students (1895).

The other nationalities, deprived of political organization, had almost no means of action except protest. The Slovacs in the northwest tried to unite with the Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia, who were their neighbours and spoke the same language. The Magyar government and the Lutheran clergy replied by forbidding any pastor or teacher in a Slovac country to join in the Slavic propagandism (1884).

Among the Serbs in the south a little separatist party, under the direction of a secret society, the *Omladina*, has been labouring since 1872 to unite the whole Servian nation under the government of Servia. The National party, including the greater part of the nation, was content with demanding home rule. It protested against the Magyar government, demanding (1884) the right, granted to the Serbs in 1790, 1848, and 1868, of electing their Metropolitan and directing church and school matters. In Croatia, where the Serbs differ from the Croats only in religion (Orthodox) and alphabet (Slavonic), the independent "Serb party of Croatia," formed after the annexation of the "Military Frontier," claimed the equality of the Cyrillic with the Latin alphabet, and the revision of the school law (1887).

The Roumans, who were almost shut out from representation by the electoral system, had for a long time confined themselves to passive protestation. They began, in 1881, to demand a separate government for Transylvania. Finally they sent a deputation to "the *Emperor*" at Vienna, with a memorandum (1892). The Hungarian government had the leaders tried and imprisoned (1895). A separatist party, connected with the Irredentists of Roumania, had begun to talk of "Roumania irredenta," and to dream of separation from Hungary and union with the Kingdom of Roumania.

The Saxons have finally joined the Magyars against the Rou-

man agitation.* On the other hand, the small nationalities have tried to unite against their Magyar masters. A congress of Roumans, Slovacs, and Serbs has formed an alliance for the defence of local autonomy and the unity of the kingdom (1895).

Political Evolution of Austria-Hungary in the Nineteenth Century.—Austria was a confused mixture of races, themselves a combination of heterogeneous elements and subject to an absolutist and aristocratic monarchy. The government maintained political unity and reduced the nationalist opposition to a few demands in the Hungarian Diet, and elsewhere to simple written protests. But this system, though practicable in a bureaucratic state, was not in harmony with representative assemblies fired with racial passion; it became impossible when representative institutions were granted. The revolution of 1848 suddenly revealed the national antagonisms; it established dualism, that is to say, division of the monarchy between the two leading races, Magyars and Germans. But as both had joined the democratic parliamentary party, the monarchical government crushed them with the aid of the Slavs, who remained submissive to the Empire, and restored absolutism, completed by clerical control.

The military defeats of 1859 and 1866 and the loss of its credit made the German government decide to adopt a liberal constitutional system. It first attempted to maintain the unity of the whole Empire, then, yielding to the unanimous resistance of the Magyars, it took the bold course of abandoning to the Magyars all the countries under the crown of St. Stephen. There a Magyar state grew up with a liberal and semi-aristocratic parliamentary government, strong enough to impose its will on the small nationalities, but obliged to let the Croats make themselves a self-governing state.

With the rest of the Empire the German government began once more to organize a unitary constitutional system. It succeeded, by means of an electoral system favouring the Germans and property holders, in setting up this system. At one time it united the German liberals with the aristocracy (1867-68); at another it joined the German aristocracy with the Slavic aristoc-

* The anti-Semite agitation may be included among the nationalist struggles. It has been violently manifested by the prosecution of the Jews of Tisza-Eslar, who were accused of the ritual murder of a young girl (1882-83), and by the formation of an anti-Semite party (17 in the Diet of 1884). The Socialist agitation has been limited to the capital, and has been of no political importance.

racies (1879-93). But it has been obliged to sacrifice to the latter a part of its liberal and anti-clerical policy (established after 1867) and a part of the former predominance of the German language; it has let Austria slip back toward the old system, under the authority of nobles and clergy. Then, a new democratic party, by an appeal to patriotism, won the Czechs; the government, alarmed at the growth of democracy, has therefore made good the loss of the Czech party by taking in the German liberal party. It rests on an anti-democratic coalition, directed by the Poles.

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*My ignorance of the Magyar and Slavic tongues prevents my preparing a truly scientific bibliog.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

Formation of the Scandinavian States.—The three Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, are ancient states formed during the Middle Ages. The three peoples are alike in their origin, language, religion, and conditions of life; they have passed through similar evolutions and their histories are parallel up to the nineteenth century.

The political situation of the three countries was upset by the wars with the French Empire. The modern political life of Scandinavia, like that of Switzerland, the Netherlands, Italy, the Iberian peninsula, and Germany, was aroused by the intervention of France.

Sweden, during Napoleon's alliance with the Tsar, was conquered by Russia, which detached the Grand Duchy of Finland from the kingdom. Irritated by the incapacity of their King, the Swedes revolted and imposed upon him a sort of constitution (the *form of government* of 1809), which replaced the absolute royalty by an aristocratic government.

A French general, Bernadotte, who directed the occupation of Swedish Pomerania, conciliated the Swedish aristocracy; the King, who had no children, adopted him as his heir; Bernadotte, as prince royal, governed in the King's place and joined the Russo-English alliance against Napoleon. The King of Denmark, the absolute sovereign of the two kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, remained Napoleon's ally; the Allies promised Norway to Bernadotte. After the fall of Napoleon, the Danish King was obliged to cede Norway to Sweden (Peace of Kiel, January, 1814), retaining only Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein.

Norway, which for four centuries had been treated as a remote province by the Danish government, had lost all political interest. The Norwegians, speaking Danish and having no other literature but the Danish, did not feel themselves a distinct race. The Norwegian patriotic party did not appear until 1810; it

founded the "Society for the good of the Norwegian people," then raised subscriptions for a Norwegian university (1811).

National sentiment grew rapidly. When the news came of the cession of Norway to Sweden the Norwegians determined not to submit to it. The Danish prince who, under the title of viceroy, governed Norway, wished to take advantage of this movement to declare himself King of Norway. But instead of declaring himself an absolute King, as he had first intended, he followed the advice of Professor Sverdrup, and appealed to the nation. He convoked an assembly of notables, then a Diet of 112 members formed of elected representatives and office-holders. The Diet declared that the crown of Norway had been restored to the people by the Danish King's renunciation, and elected Prince Christian Frederick King (May 17, 1814). It then voted a constitution similar to the French Constitution of 1791, founded on the sovereignty of the people, represented by an indissoluble, elective assembly.

Bernadotte came to take possession of the country and offered the Norwegians a viceroy and a constitution. The Norwegians refused. Then war began, and the Swedes were driven back. But it was impossible for Norway to resist the formal order of the great European powers. Christian therefore convoked the representative assembly and induced it to accept his resignation of the crown. But the assembly, while yielding to the King of Sweden, maintained the principle of the sovereignty of the people; it elected Charles XIII. King of Norway, on condition that he should recognise the Constitution of 1814.

A convention made terms between the two countries (1815). There should be a King of Sweden and Norway, a common sovereign in all foreign relations (war and diplomacy); but the two peoples should each preserve its own constitution and government; Norway had its Council of State, performing the offices of a ministry, its Assembly, its Supreme Court, its capital at Christiania, and its bank at Drontheim.

There were henceforth three distinct Scandinavian states. Norway has the same King as Sweden and the same language as Denmark. All three have established the Lutheran Church. All three have experienced during the nineteenth century an economic, political, and literary revival. All three have established religious liberty. This evolution has been parallel, but to understand it in detail each country must be looked into separately.

SWEDEN.

Transformation of the Swedish Constitution.—Swedish society remained aristocratic until the nineteenth century. The south (Scania) was a region of large landowners; the rest, where the soil is less fertile, has only a scattered population of peasants and fishermen, with several mining districts and a few cities. The court, nobles, military officers, office-holders, and Lutheran clergy form the active part of the nation and rule the people; political life is centred about the King at Stockholm.

Sweden had preserved all her old institutions: the Council of State, performing the office of a ministry,—the Diet, divided into four orders, nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants, voting separately,—the Lutheran Church as the state church, the practice of any other religion being prohibited,—the army (*indelta*) maintained by assignments of land. Since 1809 the King had been unable to decide any question except in the Council of State, which was composed of two ministers, four secretaries of state, a chancellor, and six councillors, collectively responsible; the government could make laws only through the Diet.

The first reform was one of government. The Council of State in 1840 took the modern form of a ministry divided into seven departments, each forming a service, under the direction of a Councillor of State (foreign affairs, defence, navy, justice, interior, finance, education). Measures are examined by each head of a department, then by the Council; the King signs the decision, which must then be countersigned by the head of the department concerned (except in military matters).

Next religious freedom was established. The ordinance of 1826 on conventicles, which forbade laymen to hold public religious meetings, was repealed in 1858. Religious tolerance was brought into practice; and the law abolished by which only supporters of "the pure evangelical doctrine" could hold offices. In spite of the protests of the Synod and the supreme court of justice, a special law recognised in Dissenters the right to spread their religion, at the same time reserving to recognised religious societies the exclusive right of carrying on public worship. The Jews, who until then had been confined to four cities, were permitted to settle in all parts of the kingdom (1873).

The distribution of representation had not been revised, and so was grossly disproportionate to existing conditions. It was estimated, in 1858, that, out of 3,000,000 inhabitants, possessing

537,000,000 rixdalers, 1,194,000, possessing 245,000,000, were cut off from representation; and, owing to the system of voting by orders, 27,000 men, possessing 52,000,000 rixdalers, were sufficient to counterbalance the vote of 2,478,000, possessing 340,000,000.

The great constitutional reform was the transformation of the Diet. A *reform committee* was formed, which organized a campaign of petitions. The two lower orders, citizens and peasants, prayed the King to present a reform scheme; the two privileged orders, nobles and clergy, voted against it (1860). The King then took the part of the reformers. The first step was to establish local assemblies (Landsting); they were to be elected by property-holders, without distinction of order. Then the government presented a plan for the complete revision of the Diet (1863).

In 1865 (the legal date of the new constitution is 1866) the two privileged orders resigned themselves to voting the King's plan (the nobles by 361 votes against 294). This was a radical reform. The old Diet of States-General, with its short and irregular sessions, was transformed into a modern type of parliament, with an annual session of four months. The Diet was composed of two Chambers. The "first Chamber" was aristocratic, composed of representatives from the 25 local assemblies, and of representatives from the cities, in the proportion of 1 for every 30,000 inhabitants, elected for nine years, with a high property qualification and no pay for services. The "second Chamber" was composed of deputies elected for three years by the propertied classes and receiving a salary. The proportion of deputies was 1 for each rural district up to 40,000 population, and 1 for every 10,000 in the cities. This gave the cities a decided electoral advantage. The two Chambers had the same powers; they were to make the laws and the budget. If they should disagree on financial questions, they were to meet together, and the vote of the majority was to prevail (a Scandinavian practice).

Swedish Parties.—In Sweden, as in the other Scandinavian states, parties were formed in an exactly opposite fashion from the rest of Europe. The cities, where the court and the officials predominated, formed the aristocratic conservative party (right), disposed to support the ministers chosen by the King. The rural districts formed the democratic party (left), which opposed the ministry.

The right had called itself the "*intelligent* party"; its members were of the cultivated classes; the left, composed mainly of peasants, had taken the name of the "*rustic* party." As in the other Scandinavian countries, the struggle came over the budget of expenses, especially military (army and navy). The King and his ministers, continuing the Swedish military tradition, perhaps also influenced by the example of the German monarchies, wished to reorganize the army on the Prussian model, establishing a permanent army and expending great sums on the building up of a navy. The left, above all bent on economy, rejected these expenditures as useless for a people threatened by no enemy; it demanded that the army should be remodelled on the Swiss plan, as a national militia.

Relations between the ministry and the Second Chamber have been regulated according to the usages of a constitutional monarchy, and the King has avoided establishing the parliamentary system; he has continued to choose his ministers outside of the majority. The Chamber, deprived of means of constraint, cannot get control of the government; it has only its power of resistance to ministerial projects.

Conflict began in 1871 over the question of military reform: the left demanded that the "antiquated system" of the *indelta* should be abolished; the government plan was passed by the First Chamber, but rejected by the Second Chamber (105 against 79).

The ministry kept its majority in the Diet (the two Chambers voting together), owing to the votes of the aristocratic and ministerial upper House. But as early as 1875 the left had a majority, even in the Diet (155 against 141). The ministry has continued to present its schemes, the Diet has continued to reject them; the military reform has not been accomplished. But the conflict has not become sharp as in the other Scandinavian countries. The King has admitted to the ministry the leaders of the moderate section of the rustic party.

Then, the classification of parties has changed. A new democratic party has been formed in the cities, more radical than the Rustics. In 1884 the Conservative party lost Stockholm. Meanwhile the question of taxation was breaking up the old parties. The price of grain had fallen greatly, and a party had formed about 1880 to demand an increase of import duties on grain. The ministry, which had always advocated free trade, resisted for a long time. In 1886 the protectionists had a small

majority in the lower Chamber, though still insufficient to counterbalance the great free-trade majority in the upper Chamber. In 1887 the ministry, having appealed to the nation by a dissolution (the first since the reform of the Diet), the free-trade government party had only 100 votes in 222. The majority depended on the election in Stockholm, which had returned 22 democrats; it was annulled because one of those elected had not fulfilled the property qualification required by law, and the protectionist ticket was declared elected. The ministry resigned, and protective measures were passed. But in 1892 the free-traders regained the majority (142 against 86) in the Second Chamber (128 against 102, in 1896).

The socialist party had just been organized (1889), on the model of the German socialists, by founding political societies and syndicates of workingmen. It began its agitation with a press campaign and a demonstration in favour of the eight-hour day (1890). The government replied with prosecutions for high treason or blasphemy, condemning to prison all the editors of the socialist organ. The socialist party, powerless to effect the election of its candidates by propertied voters, joined the democratic party in an appeal for universal suffrage. The two united parties organized an election for a "people's Diet." This private Diet, held in 1893, presented to the King an address in favour of universal suffrage. The Rustics divided on this question (1893); one part joined the right to defeat the electoral reform (the First Chamber rejected it again in 1896). The government, disturbed by the agitation in the cities, carried, in 1894, a law which, by reducing the number of deputies to 230, lessens the proportion of deputies from the cities. Political life has turned, since that year, on the conflict with Norway (see p. 565).

NORWAY.

The Democratic Party.—After the union with Sweden, Norway had the most democratic form of social and political constitution to be found in Europe. The separation from Denmark had removed the controlling Danish classes; there remained almost nothing of the Norwegian nobility; the officials were few in number and centred at Christiania, a capital without a court. Society was reduced to peasants (who were almost all landowners), merchants, sailors, and pastors. It has been steadily democratic in character.

The government was monarchical in form; but the King was a foreigner and seen in Norway only when the Assembly met; he therefore had but little personal influence. The Constitution of 1814, based, like the French Constitution of 1791, on the doctrine of the separation of the powers, was so constructed as to make the Assembly entirely independent of the King. Unlike that of other monarchical governments, it could not be dissolved and it could make laws against the will of the King—though, to tell the truth, it was by a slow process. When a measure is rejected by the King it must, in order to become a law, be voted by three successive Assemblies with intervals of three years between the votes.

The Assembly (*Storthing*) was elected for a short term (three years) by indirect election, by an electoral body which was very democratic for the period, for it included every landholder, every city burgher, and every possessor of an income of 500 krones in the country or 800 krones in the city.* The Assembly was divided into two Chambers, which sat separately. The Upper Chamber (*Lagthing*) was, however, only a fragment of the *Storthing*, formed of a quarter of the members elected by the whole. The remaining three-fourths constituted the *Odelsthing*, with the sole right of inspecting the accounts. In case of disagreement over a projected law the two Chambers voted together, and the project must in this case have a two-thirds majority.

The King chose the Council of State, which wielded the executive power. This Council, formed of two ministers and nine councillors, was cut into two sections: a minister and two councillors composed the delegation to be with the King at Stockholm; the others remained at Christiania and composed the ministry. Following the doctrine of the separation of the powers Councillors of State could not be deputies or even enter the *Storthing* hall.

Political life at first commanded little interest. The *Storthing* held only one session of two months in three years. It was, however, divided into two parties on the same principle as in Sweden. The democratic party, composed of representatives from the peasant classes, opposed the expenditure proposed by the government; the right, which favoured the ministry, was supported by the deputies from the capital. But from the beginning, the left had the majority; it had the advantage of appearing as the

* A Krone is roughly equal to a quarter of a dollar.

Norwegian patriots' party, as opposed to the government party representing a foreign king.

Charles XIV. (Bernadotte) was in conflict with the Norwegians throughout his reign (1818-44): conflict over the civil list; conflict over the abolition of the nobility, which the *Storthing* demanded in three successive votes; conflict over the reform of the constitution (the King wished to secure for himself the same powers that were enjoyed by the kings of other monarchies: veto, right of dissolution, appointment of presiding officers; the *Storthing* rejected all his amendments in 1824; conflict in 1829 with students who were celebrating the anniversary of the Norwegian constitution instead of the anniversary of the union with Sweden (the King sent troops to disperse them); conflict over the choice of the viceroy for Norway. This time the King went so far as to dissolve the *Storthing*, which retorted by impeaching the ministry for having advised the King to violate the constitution; the ministry was condemned to pay a fine, and the King yielded, taking a Norwegian for his viceroy.

The two succeeding Kings, Oscar I. (1844-59) and Charles XV. (1859-72), lived in peace with the *Storthing*. Oscar recognised the national flag of Norway and gave up the right of appointing a viceroy (the charge was abolished in 1873). Religious liberty, which had been forgotten in the constitution, was established by laws. The law on Dissenters (1845) gave to all *Christian* sects the right to establish communities and to practice their religion. Jews were given the same privilege in 1851. Universal religious liberty was granted in 1878. Lutheranism remained compulsory for office-holders, however. The *Storthing* session was made annual (1869), and this increased political activity in Norway.

Prosperity increased rapidly. Norway had never been so populous or so rich. The population had increased from less than 1,200,000 souls in 1835 to 1,800,000 in 1875 (2,000,000 in 1891); the population of the cities from 135,000 in 1832 to 332,000 in 1875. The debt, which had been very heavy in 1815, was paid off in 1850. The customs duties, growing more and more productive, were sufficient to cover the expenses of the state. The little Norwegian people owned a fourth of the merchant marine of Europe: in 1879 56,000 sailors and 7800 ships, not to mention the fishermen, who in 1890 were estimated at 120,000. The land was divided among a great number of peasants. The

number of landowners had increased from 45,000 in 1814 to 105,000 in 1835. There remained no great property-holders.

The Constitutional Conflict.—With Oscar II. (1872) began the great conflict for reform of the constitution. Hitherto the democratic party, abiding by the terms of the Constitution of 1814, had simply tried to restrict the government by reducing the budget. It had at first even refused to change the law forbidding Councillors of State to join in meetings of the Assemblies, for fear of their gaining a personal influence over the deputies. It held the old doctrine, the doctrine maintained by the French Constitution of 1791. Later it had proposed a law (1851) which permitted the Councillors of State to take part in the meetings of the *Storthing*. The King had rejected it.

In 1872 the democratic party changed its policy; it endeavoured to get control of the Council of State, to compel the King to choose his ministers from the majority in the *Storthing*, thus replacing the separatist system by the English parliamentary system. The constitution forbade ministers to sit in the *Storthing;* the democratic party passed a law to permit it. Thereupon began the conflict between the King and the *Storthing*. The King declared that the *Storthing* had no power to change the constitution without the consent of both powers, King and *Storthing;* as the constitution had established no other procedure for revision, the change could be made only by agreement. He would willingly consent to the innovation, but in return asked the right of dissolving the Assembly, as in parliamentary monarchies. The majority in the *Storthing* looked at the question in a different light. It declared that, as the constitution had made no distinction between laws and constitutional amendments, a law was sufficient to change the constitution, and this could be passed over the King's veto. It therefore passed the law giving the ministers entrance to the *Storthing;* the King refused his sanction; but, in accordance with the rules of Norwegian procedure, the *Storthing* passed the measure three times (1872-77-80) and passed several formal votes of censure against the ministry.

The King refused to recognise the law, even after the third vote, and chose "fighting ministers" pledged to resistance (1880). The Storthing had no lawful means of action; according to the doctrine of the separation of powers, the King, in his choice of ministers, was under no obligation to pay attention to the votes of the Assembly. The breach widened. The two

powers, both King and *Storthing*, refused to yield. The *Storthing* replaced the formula "Most Gracious Majesty" with the words "To the King." The King secured from the Law Faculty of Christiania a favourable opinion on his theory. In Sweden there was talk of employing force; in Norway a society was established to arm volunteers. There remained but one process, which was to impeach the Council of State; but the outcome of the attempt was doubtful. According to the constitution, impeached ministers must be tried by a court composed of 9 judges from the High Court of Justice and 22 members of the *Lagthing*, and the accused had the right to challenge a third of them. Nothing could be expected of the judges, who were dependent on the government; the members of the *Lagthing* alone could be expected to decide the conflict against the King.

The elections of November, 1882, were decisive. The Left had 83 members elected, the Conservatives 31. The Left used its majority to elect a *Lagthing* disposed to condemn the ministry. The trial was a long one. The *Odelthing* accused the ministers of having acted contrary to the interests of the country by advising the King to refuse his sanction to the constitutional amendment; the court declared the ministers guilty and condemned them to dismissal (1884).

This time the King yielded and accepted the judgment. He did, however, attempt to form a Conservative ministry, but no one dared accept a place in it. The King finally resigned himself to charging Sverdrup, leader of the Left, with the formation of a ministry (1884). This was a radical change; Norway made a sudden leap from constitutional monarchy to the parliamentary system. The Council of State became a ministry politically responsible to the *Storthing*. The power, hitherto exercised by the King, the Christiania officials, and the conservative party, passed into the hands of the representatives of the Norwegian people under the control of the peasant democratic party.

The National Conflict.—The accession of the leader of the Left to power did not end the conflict; it simply gave it a new direction. The party which had conquered the King was a loose coalition of the various opposition groups; by the side of the old peasant Left, which was still composed of monarchists and intolerant Lutherans, there had sprung up, within a generation, a more radical group, whose members belonged in large part to the cities and ports. It was indifferent or hostile to the Church, and was led by the novelist Björnstern Björnson.

During the struggle against the King, Sverdrup had produced a program of democratic reforms: extension of the suffrage, establishment of jury trial, reorganization of the army, and development of education (1882). On these reforms the Left was in harmony, but the understanding was broken up on a question of Church policy. Sverdrup, influenced by his nephew John, an Orthodox pastor, caused the rejection of the pension proposed for the writer, Kielland, because the latter had expressed anti-Christian views (1885). Sverdrup proposed a bill on parish councils (1886) which gave the councils the right to strike from the voting list the name of anyone who should have broken away from the Church or who led an immoral life. (In Norway the parish is identical with the civil commune; this bill would give the Orthodox believers a discretionary power over the elections.) The democratic party broke into two parts; the Old Left, supporting Sverdrup, and the New Left, under Björnson, attacking him (1886).*

The two groups continued to vote together on the electoral law (1884), introduction of jury trial, and the reorganization of the army as a militia (1887). But the New Left demanded the dismissal of John Sverdrup and defeated the parish law in the *Storthing* (84 against 1). Sverdrup, though put in a minority, refused to resign, invoking the anti-parliamentary theory which he had been fighting all his life. Then, to maintain his position, he joined the Right, which enabled him to defeat a vote of want of confidence by 61 votes (of which 30 were Conservative) against 51 (1888). He even spoke of the necessity of winning the confidence of "the master of the ministry" (the King). The mass of the democrats followed the New Left. The delegates from the democratic clubs, who met at Drontheim in July, 1887, adopted as their platform universal suffrage, the parliamentary system (that is, the resignation of a defeated ministry), and the establishment of special consuls for Norway. By this last article the New Left appealed to patriotism against the King of Sweden.

Henceforth there were three parties: Conservative, Ministerial, and Radical. In the elections of 1889 the coalition of Ministerialists and Conservatives retained their majority: 22 Ministerialists, 54 Conservatives, 38 Radicals. But the Ministerial party was too far reduced to maintain its foothold. The Conservatives, who were now the largest party relatively, defeated

* Björnson's adversaries called it the "literary" or "European Left," because it introduced foreign ideas into Norway.

Sverdrup, and the King took a Conservative "fighting ministry," under Stang (1889).

Then began the democratic and patriotic agitation against the King of Sweden. The factory system had been introduced into Norway, and had created a labouring class. A socialist party had just been formed among the workingmen (1887) and had secured the support of the congress of trade unions (1889). Another Radical workingman's party, represented by the federation of the leagues of Norwegian workingmen, demanded woman's suffrage, a progressive income and inheritance tax, an eight-hour day, and legislation in the interest of workingmen.

When the Conservative ministry presented a bill to regulate relations between Sweden and Norway, the two groups of the Left united and left the government in minority (February, 1891). The King decided to call on one of the Radical leaders Steen. The Steen ministry did not have at first a majority in the *Storthing*, but gained a majority in the elections of 1891. The party had adopted a platform of universal suffrage, direct taxes, and particularly the creation of a Norwegian ministry of Foreign Affairs and Norwegian consuls. The elections were very animated; the Radical Left gained 18,500 votes. It elected 65 deputies, the Sverdrup party 14, and the Conservative party 35.

Trouble began at once with the King on the question of Norwegian consuls. The *Storthing* declared that the creation of a consular body was an exclusively Norwegian affair, to be settled by Norwegian legislation. The King replied that the right of settling the question belonged to him according to the laws established on the union of the two countries (March, 1892). The *Storthing* determined to create consuls; the King refused his sanction; the ministers offered to resign, but the King was obliged to keep them (1892). As at the time of the previous conflict, they were met by a question of procedure; the *Storthing* claimed the right of final decision, as the representative of the sovereign people of Norway, while the King affirmed that a change in the relations established by the union could be made only by agreement between the two governments. In Sweden the Diet (April, 1893), in Norway the Right, supported the King. The King once more took a conservative ministry (Stang, April, 1893) and kept it in spite of the *Storthing's* vote of want of confidence. The *Storthing* retorted by refusing to vote funds for foreign affairs, the civil list, and the ministers (1893), and determined upon a separate consulate for Norway. The Left

won the majority in the elections of 1894 and the contest has remained open. The *Storthing* has continued to vote measures in opposition to the King's ministers—separation of consulates, and later (1896) a Norwegian flag with no symbol of the union. The King has continued to refuse his sanction to the decisions of the *Storthing* (1894) and has retained his conservative ministry, even after it has indicated a wish to resign (1895).

The conflict has provoked a counter movement in Sweden, and has taken the form of a conflict between the two peoples, Norwegians and Swedes. In both countries, the Chambers have manifested a mutual lack of confidence by voting special military appropriations (1895). The Swedish government has proposed a revision of the union compact; but the *Storthing* insisted that the negotiations should be carried on by a ministry which was in harmony with the Norwegian majority; the King has formed a routine ministry, and the conflict goes on.

DENMARK AND THE DUCHIES.

The Danish Monarchy before the Separation of the Duchies.—After the cession of Norway, the Danish monarchy was reduced to the Kingdom of Denmark (comprising Jutland and the islands), Iceland, and the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg.

The population was chiefly agricultural, but there remained an extensive nobility which controlled the court and filled the offices. The peasants, who until 1788 had been dependent on the nobles to an extent bordering on serfdom, had not yet any political activity. Copenhagen, the only city of any importance, was the centre of court life. The King preserved the tradition of the "enlightened despotism" of the eighteenth century: religious toleration, patriarchal administration, absolute, secret, and uncontrolled government.

Frederick VI. (1808-39) confined himself to a promise of publishing the budget (1813), which was not carried out before 1835; he also created a set of provincial Estates after the Prussian model, purely consultative, for consideration of laws and financial questions (1831-34). There were four provinces: the Islands, Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein. The only business which was made public was the regulation of the heavy financial burdens left by the wars of the French Empire. In 1813 the paper money had fallen to one-fourth of its value, and the government had

gone into partial bankruptcy; the debt remained enormous and did not begin to decrease until 1841.

A small liberal aristocratic party had been formed among the cultivated classes in Copenhagen, desiring a constitution and hoping to secure it from the hereditary prince. But Christian VIII. (1839-48), who was now King, became an absolutist. He was besides absorbed by the struggle against his German subjects in Holstein, and died before getting beyond the plan of a constitution (January, 1848).

The whole reign of Frederick VII. (1848-63) was filled with the intrigues, negotiations, and wars of the Schleswig-Holstein affair, and during all that time Danish politics were controlled or disturbed by the quarrels with the duchies.

The Liberals were meanwhile the Danish national party, desiring union with the duchies, or at least with Schleswig, with a single constitution for the whole monarchy. Frederick VII. leaned on this party and formed a Liberal ministry (March, 1848), which repealed the laws against the liberty of the press. He then granted a constitution, the fundamental law of June, 1849, which established an annual Diet composed of two Chambers, elected by the owners of property; it also guaranteed liberty of the press, of religion, and of public meeting.

This constitution, confined to the Kingdom of Denmark, was short-lived. The King then proposed a constitution for the whole monarchy, including the duchies; but this project, drawn up at the time of the general reaction against the representative system, lessened the power of the Diet. The Diet protested; the government replied with press prosecutions, and the King, by virtue of his own authority, promulgated the Constitution of July, 1854. This reduced the Diet to a single consulting assembly having no authoritative vote except in imposing *new* taxes. The Diet voted to impeach the ministry. It was dissolved, but re-elected (1854), and the King changed his ministry. The conflict ended in a compromise; this was the Constitution of October 2, 1855, which reserved to the Diet all its powers and established a common *Council of State* for the whole monarchy, in which the Kingdom of Denmark had 47 representatives (35 elected, 12 appointed by the King), and the duchies 33 (8 appointed by the King). This constitution, declared void by the provincial estates of the duchies, remained in a precarious condition.

The Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein.—The King of Denmark was sovereign of the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and

also of the duchy of Lauenburg (received in 1815 as indemnity for the loss of Pomerania). These duchies were distinct from the Kindom of Denmark and belonged to the King as *Duke*. They had had each its own history, its distinct administration and Assembly of Estates, though united under the same sovereign, and declared indissolubly united. In 1815, however, when the German Confederation was formed, Holstein and Lauenburg alone were included in it and Schleswig had remained outside. The population of Holstein, Lauenburg, and southern Schleswig was German, that of Northern Schleswig was Danish. Thus, by a contradictory combination of terms, the duchies and Denmark made part of the same monarchy without forming one nation: Holstein, although subject to the Danish government, was a member of a foreign confederation in which Schleswig was not included, although indissolubly united to Holstein; and the limits of the Danish nationality did not coincide with the limits of either province. These contradictions made a rational solution impossible.

The "question of the duchies" was, however, long in coming into prominence, for national feeling was not yet aroused. The Germans in Holstein were used to regarding Denmark as their country; they even sang the Danish national songs.

The agitation began against Frederick, who governed as an absolute sovereign, without consideration for the historic privileges of the knights of Holstein; Dahlmann, the historian, a professor at Kiel, presented their claims in the name of historic rights. In 1830 a more radical agitator, Uwe Lornsen, demanded a single constitution for the two duchies and separation from Denmark. "We have nothing in common with the Danes," he said, "but the King and the enemy." He was arrested, and the King created two assemblies of estates, one for Schleswig, the other for Holstein. But the Germans in Holstein were beginning to object to being Danish; the University of Kiel became a centre of Germanic propagandism.

Conflict then began between the German patriots who wanted a separate administration for the duchies and the Danish patriots who wanted to maintain the united monarchy. Between the two extreme parties came two intermediate parties: a German party in Holstein which renounced Schleswig, and a Danish party which renounced Holstein. But soon all the Germans united to sustain the indissolubility of the duchies.

After the death of Frederick VI. (1839) there remained but two

princes, neither of whom had an heir; these were the later Kings Christian VIII. and Frederick VII. The question of the succession had to be decided. Now the right of succession was not the same all over the monarchy: in Denmark the succession could be inherited by women, in Holstein by men only; in the case of Schleswig and Lauenburg the point was in dispute. The Danish government, however, meant to preserve the monarchy intact, including Holstein, and the German party wished to cut off from it both Holstein and Schleswig as inseparable.

The two parties officially declared their pretensions. The Estates of Holstein, in the petition of 1844, maintained three points: the duchies are (1) *independent*, (2) *united forever*, (3) *hereditary in the male line*. The King replied that Schleswig followed the female line like Denmark, that for Holstein the question was in doubt, but that he would be forced to assure the maintenance of the Danish monarchy (1846). The German party made rejoinder in the form of mass-meetings, a protest from the Estates of Holstein to the king, who refused to receive it, and a complaint to the German Diet. Then appeared the patriotic song of the duchies, *Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen*.

The Wars of the Duchies.—The revolution of 1848 excited the national parties and pushed the conflict at length to the point of war. The Danish liberal nationalist party, which the King called to the ministry, had adopted a mixed solution: to renounce Holstein, the German country, which belonged to the Confederation, to keep the country north of the Eider, that is, Schleswig, and to make it one nation with Denmark; this is what was called the party of the "Eider Danes." This solution implied the rupture of the union between Schleswig and Holstein, a common constitution for Schleswig and Denmark, and for the future succession through the female line for Schleswig. The German party in the duchies, in the name of the indissoluble union, demanded the admission of Schleswig into the Confederation and a common constitution for the duchies; on the refusal of the King the party rose in rebellion and established a provisional government, which declared itself in favour of indissoluble unity, male succession, and the entrance of Schleswig into the Confederation.

From this moment three questions awaited decision: 1. Should Schleswig remain united to Holstein and join the Confederation, or remain outside of the Confederation and joined to Denmark? 2. Should the constitution be common to the

duchies or to Schleswig and Denmark? 3. Should the succession be male or female?

The War began in August, 1848, and lasted until 1850, broken by truces into three wars. The German party had its centre at Kiel and carried on its work through the aid of volunteers or regular troops from Germany. The Danish party carried on its work through the Danish army and the aid of European diplomacy.

1. In the first war the Danish army drove back behind the Eider the Germans of Schleswig-Holstein and German volunteers; the Prussian troops forced the Danish army to evacuate the duchies. The European powers imposed a truce (August, 1848) which established in the duchies a provisional government, half Prussian and half Danish. The Frankfort Parliament rejected the truce by 238 votes against 221, then accepted it by 258 against 238. No definite arrangement could be made, as the Danes wished Schleswig to be inseparable from the monarchy, and the Germans refused.

2. The truce over, the German army of Holstein invaded Jutland, but was surprised and put to rout. A new truce; then Schleswig, evacuated by the Holstein army, was occupied by the Prussian troops and governed by two officers, a Dane and a Prussian (April-July, 1849).

3. After the failure of the German revolution the European powers (England, France, and Russia) decided at the London Conference to uphold the integrity of the Danish monarchy as necessary to the balance of power in Europe. The isolated King of Prussia withdrew his troops. The Holstein army, abandoned by the German states, was crushed by the Danish army in July, 1850.

The King of Denmark resumed possession of the duchies. He declared their union dissolved by a decree (January, 1852). He imposed on them a common constitution with Denmark. The succession was regulated by the powers under the form of a protocol adopted in London (May, 1852): the Prince of Glücksburg, husband of the King's niece, was declared heir of the whole monarchy, including the duchies. The intervention of the powers had decided the questions as Denmark wished. But the solution was not accepted by the Estates of Schleswig and Holstein, nor by the Germanic confederation, nor the male heirs of the duchies (the consent of the nearest heir had been secured but not that of his successor). The Estates of Schleswig and Hol-

stein refused to recognise the female line of succession, protested against the Constitution of 1855, and refused to elect deputies to the Council of State, where the majority was Danish.

The Danish government, treating its adversaries as rebels, dismissed all officials, pastors, and teachers belonging to the German party—also even the professors in the University of Kiel. In some parts of Schleswig it forbade the use of German in the schools. In Germany the Danish domination over the German population of the duchies became one of the grievances of the national party.

Even in Denmark the national party disapproved the King's policy. It insisted upon retaining Schleswig, in spite of the Germans' demands, in the hope of annexing it to Denmark; it did not, however, want to keep Holstein, whose German population, by its systematic opposition, would prevent the establishment of a truly national constitution. This party finally won over the King. A patriotic society, the *Denmark Union*, was founded in 1861, "to resist all attempts at foreign intervention in the home affairs of Denmark, to maintain the Danish nationality in Schleswig and introduce into that country that liberty which was promised by the Constitution of 1849." The King promulgated a regulation which established a special system for Holstein (March, 1862). The German majority in the Schleswig Estates protested, and then resigned their seats; the German Diet at Frankfort voted to *enforce the execution* of its decisions of 1858, 1860, 1861, and 1863. The Danish government replied by presenting a common constitution.

The Separation of the Duchies.—In the midst of the conflict, King Frederick VII. died suddenly, and the question of succession had to be settled. The heir to the Danish throne, Christian IX. of Glücksburg, backed by the London protocol, had himself proclaimed as King in both Denmark and the duchies. He hesitated at accepting the new constitution common to Denmark and Schleswig, as contrary to the London protocol; but the people of Copenhagen, when the patriotic party resigned, came *en masse* to the palace, and Christian signed the Constitution of 1863. In the duchies, on the contrary, the Estates recognised as their sovereign the heir in the male line, Frederick of Augustenburg. Three questions came up at once: the union of Schleswig, the common constitution, and the succession.

The solution came not from the Danes or the inhabitants of the duchies, but from foreign powers. The Germans in the

duchies pinned their hopes on the German Diet, which had already decided to send a federal army; the Danes were counting on the states of Europe that in 1852 had guaranteed the territory of the Danish monarchy. But both parties were deceived. The two great German states, Austria and Prussia, declaring themselves bound by the London protocol, began by recognising Christian. Frederick was supported only by the small states of Germany (see p. 468). Prussia and Austria accepted the succession, but not the Constitution of 1863; they sent to Denmark a demand that it should be abrogated; on the King's refusal they sent their troops into Schleswig (February, 1864). The Danish government awaited the intervention of the European states. The Queen of England, however, did not want war, and Napoleon spoke of having the question settled by a vote of the inhabitants of the duchies, according to the principle of nationality.

The Danish army (35,000 men) had received the order to risk no decisive action; its part was to give European intervention time to make its appearance. It evacuated Schleswig almost without resistance and withdrew behind the entrenchments of Düppel, which covered Jutland; there it held out for six weeks. The position was taken by storm on April 18. On April 25 the conference between the European powers was reopened. England proposed to divide Schleswig; Napoleon, directly consulted by Denmark, accepted the plan, but proposed to divide the duchy according to language. Prussia and Austria demanded the complete cession of the two duchies, which should form a single state. The conference was interrupted (June 25). The armies of Austria and Prussia took possession of the whole of Jutland and threatened the islands. Denmark, abandoned by Europe, resigned herself to signing a peace ceding the three duchies to Austria and Prussia (August, 1864).

Austria and Prussia held to their conquest. In 1866 Austria, after her defeat, gave up her rights over the duchies, and Prussia annexed them. One article of the treaty promised that the "people of northern Schleswig, if by a free vote they should signify their desire to be united to Denmark, should be ceded to Denmark." But Prussia never consulted the people, and in 1878 Austria agreed to cancel that clause. The Danish party in Schleswig remained under Prussian rule; the inhabitants have never ceased to show their discontent by electing always a protester as their deputy. The Prussian government has retorted by persecuting Danish patriots and forbidding the use of the

Danish language. In 1885 sixteen young girls were fined for singing Danish patriotic songs; a bookseller was fined for having offered for sale a book whose covers bore the Danish colors.

The Constitution of 1866.—After the separation of the duchies Danish politics were transformed. A new democratic party, the *Friends of the Peasants*, demanded the abrogation of the existing constitution and the restoration of the Constitution of 1849.

The government presented a plan to re-establish the system of 1849, but with an important change. Of the two Chambers of the Diet, one, the *Folkething*, was still to be a really representative body, elected under a very extended suffrage; but the upper Chamber, the *Landthing*, was to be composed of 66 members, 12 *appointed* by the king, the others *elected* by voters possessing an income of 2000 crowns. The lower house rejected this plan as anti-democratic; it was dissolved, but re-elected (1865); and after a long conflict the government plan became the Constitution of 1866, which rules Denmark to-day.

For the first few years the ministry governed almost without opposition; it was absorbed in the reorganization of the army, navy, and military service. But a great transformation was preparing to take place in public opinion. The "Liberal" party, which had held the ministry during the struggle over the duchies, was before everything a belligerent patriotic party; its program had consisted chiefly in the defence of Schleswig. After the loss of Schleswig it became a conservative party, composed of officials and landowners, the party of the court and middle class; its force lay in the capital (Copenhagen) and its neighbourhood. The rest of the country quickly joined the opposition. It divided into two groups: the Moderate Left, composed chiefly of deputies from the north of the islands and of Jutland; the Democratic Left (Peasants' Friends), recruited principally from the south of the islands and southern Jutland.

As in Norway, the subject of dispute was the budget; the Right supported the King and the ministry, who demanded money for officials and war expenses; the Left wished to reduce expenditure and taxes. As in Norway, the peasants formed the Democratic party, while the capital elected the Conservatives.

At each election the opposition gained seats in the Lower House. In 1870 the groups of the Left joined forces and defeated the budget, whereupon the ministry resigned. The following ministries secured their budgets by only a few votes majority. In 1873 the Left coalition had 49 members, the Right

(national-liberal) only 15; in addition to these was the Third party (15 members) and the "transitional group" (9 members). The coalition demanded an extended suffrage and choice of pastors by the faithful; it rejected the budget and passed a vote of want of confidence in the ministry by 55 votes against 34. The Chamber was dissolved, but the Left was re-elected.

The Constitutional Conflict (1873-94).—The conflict over voting the budget led to a constitutional conflict. The declaration of the Lower House in 1873 placed the question thus: "It is a necessary condition of constitutional monarchy that the government should be in harmony with the house which is elected by universal suffrage." The King must choose a "ministry in harmony with the people's representatives." This was the theory of the parliamentary system in practice in England, Belgium, and France. The King replied that the Chamber misunderstood the conditions of the constitution (1873); he considered himself entitled to keep a ministry which one of the Chambers supported; he declared (1883) that "understanding was possible only through negotiation between the *two Chambers*." This was the theory of harmony between the three powers and equality between the two Chambers, which Bismarck had imposed on Prussia.

The conflict was interrupted by a compromise ministry (1874), but went on under the "fighting ministry" (Estrup) formed in 1875. The Left, in spite of dissolutions (1876; 1878; May, 1881; July, 1881), retained its large majority in the *Folkething;* after the dissolution of 1876 it controlled three-fourths of the votes. The ministry, however, refused to retire, and the Chamber could not get rid of it by impeachment because the *Landthing*, which would have sat in judgment on the trial, had been, since the promulgation of the Constitution of 1866, controlled by the court.

The Folkething began to refuse the budget, not simply as presented by a ministry which did not possess the confidence of the country, but because the ministry, following the belligerent traditions of the national-liberal party, demanded great sums for the navy and for fortifying Copenhagen. The Democratic party held that Denmark, not being threatened by Germany, had no need of costly armament. The Landthing, of course, supported the ministry. Each year the Folkething rejected the budget, each year the Landthing voted it, and the ministry acted on it by means of a *provisional* financial law. This expedient, em-

ployed since 1877, was based on Article 25 of the constitution: "The King may, in case of urgency, when the Diet is not assembled, decree provisional laws. . . These laws must always be brought before the Diet at its next session." This interpretation, similar to that made by Charles X. in the French *Charte*, did not rid the ministry of the obligation to secure the approval of its provisional budget for the following year. The Left did not agree on its policy. The moderate group, to avoid rupture with the ministry, consented to vote a compromise budget, omitting the expenditure for fortifying Copenhagen (1882), and let the provisional financial law become a custom.

The Democratic Left (*Berg*), which opposed every form of conciliation, finally won the majority in the *Folkething* in 1884. For the first time part of Copenhagen escaped the Conservatives, the socialists gaining three members there (out of 9). The contest then became sharp. The *Folkething* declared that "any discussion of reform with the present ministry was a waste of time," and refused to examine any projects. This meant open war between the Democratic nation as represented by its elective Chamber, and the King, as master of the ministry and supported by the aristocracy—a similar contest to that in Prussia from 1862 to 1866.

As in Prussia, the ministry, which in its executive function was the controlling force, had the power to govern outside of legal formalities, in the name of the interest of the state. Not only did it continue to spend money on objects authorized by the *old* budget without the consent of the Lower House, but it also introduced *new* items of expenditure for army expenses, carried them through the Upper House, and added them to the provisional budget. Henceforth there was no longer a legal budget in Denmark. In order to put a stop to the demonstrations of discontent, the ministry had the *Landthing* pass other *provisional laws*, increasing the number of police and gendarmerie, and limiting liberty of the press and of public meeting (1885); it secured the imprisonment of the head of the Democratic party, Berg, who was accused of having "encouraged rebellion" in a public meeting. Denmark lived under a *régime* of special measures, as if under martial law.

The ministry, armed with force against a disarmed nation, succeeded finally in discouraging resistance. The Democratic party, worried by personal rivalries, broke up. In 1884 the "Danish Left," under Berg, the former peasant party, separated

from the "literary Left" under a group of writers (Hörup, Brandès), which was analogous to the "European Left" in Norway, a primarily urban party, demanding universal suffrage and social reforms. The literary Left worked in harmony with the socialist party, organized in 1878 as the workingmen's party, but later recruited in the country districts also, especially in Jutland.

In 1888 the Left, cut into four sections, disputed over its policy. Berg wanted to continue the policy of obstruction. A congress of the opposition parties determined to negotiate with the ministry, and secured an amnesty and the abolition of the special laws of 1885. Finally, Berg being dead (1891) and Hörup not being re-elected, the Democratic party lost the majority. In the *Folkething* of 1892 it had only 29 members against 38 of the moderate Left and 32 of the ministerial party. The moderate Left voted the budget and the military laws (1894); then only did Estrup retire, with the thanks of the King. The conflict ended in victory for the King and his ministers.*

Like the Norwegians, the Danes, in the midst of political conflict, have produced their most brilliant generation of writers, a number of novelists of European reputation; they have attained an unprecedented degree of prosperity. The population, which had at least doubled between 1800 and 1870, has continued to increase (from 1,794,000 in 1870 to 2,185,000 in 1890). The merchant marine, between 1870 and 1890, increased by 700 ships and 85,000 tons. The national debt, increased to 380,000,000 in 1866, was reduced in 1891 to 250,000,000, and the budget has almost always shown a surplus.

Iceland.—While the Danish conflict was in progress, the government engaged in conflict with Iceland. In 1874 the island, hitherto governed by a sort of patriarchal sytem, received a constitution. A Chamber (*Althing*) of 36 members, 6 appointed by the King, 30 elected by universal suffrage, had the legislative power; the executive power was vested in a resident governor, and a minister for Iceland in Denmark. The opposition, which was in majority in the *Althing*, demanded a ministry for Iceland independent of Danish policy, also financial independence.

The Constitution of 1893 finally established home rule in Iceland. The island no longer contributes to the treasury of the

* In the elections of 1895 the Left regained the majority (54 against 24 of the Right and 27 of the Third party). The socialist members increased from 2 to 8.

monarchy; the Secretary for Iceland resides at Copenhagen and is responsible for the maintenance of the constitution. The *Althing* is composed of two Chambers: the Upper Chamber of 6 members, appointed by the King, and 6 elected by the Lower House; it has the right to complain of the governor, but the King reserves the right to decide such cases.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND POLAND.

The Russian Empire in 1814.—The Tsar's Empire in Europe had its territory complete as early as 1814. It was, without counting his Asiatic possessions, by far the largest of the European states; the total population in 1815 was estimated at 45,000,000. It was composed of several groups of peoples united by a series of conquests under the same rule, who preserved their own particular dress, language, and religion, and lived side by side without blending. As the Russian government's struggle against these nationalities is one of the leading facts in the history of Russia during the nineteenth century,* it is necessary tc give an exact representation of the incongruous bits which combined to make the Russian Empire:

1. Greater Russia, the original centre and the most important part of the Empire, had a Russian population speaking the Russian language (*Greater-Russian* dialect) and belonging to the Orthodox Greek Church. The Dissenters (*Old Believers*), who had been separated from the official Church since the reform of the liturgy in the seventeenth century, formed numerous sects, though forbidden by law.

2. Lesser Russia (Kiev, Ukraine), a Russian district partially subject to Poland, and later reconquered, had also a population speaking the Russian language and belonging to the Orthodox Church. But the *Lesser-Russian* dialect is sufficiently different

* It would be difficult, in a political history, to give the Russian Empire the space due to its importance. This empire, by means of its autocratic constitution, has escaped the public agitations which constitute modern political life. Except for the liberal period under Alexander II., its political history is particularly that of the court and the government, as in the absolute monarchies of the eighteenth century; and this history is in great part kept secret from us: it is almost unknown except through the accounts given by opponents of the government, which are published abroad and are beyond government control, or through official acts and articles in official publications. The internal history of Russia has in any case less place in this chapter than the struggles of the government against its Polish, socialist, and dissenting opponents.

from literary Russian to have a distinct popular literature, and the Orthodox religion was not the only one in practice; for, without speaking of the Protestant German colonies, a population of Polish Jews had settled in the cities and even in the villages, and a number of Orthodox believers had joined the Catholic Church under the form of *United Greeks*, preserving their married clergy and Slavic liturgy.

3. The country to the east of the Volga, formerly a group of Tartar monarchies, was inhabited by a mixture of Russians and the yellow races from Asia, mainly Orthodox, but partly Mussulmans.

4. Southern Russia, composed of territory taken from the Ottoman Empire, was peopled by Russian colonists, the Cossacks, and tribes of Asiatic origin, interspersed with German colonies which had settled with the promise of preserving their nationality. Bessarabia, which had been detached from Moldavia in 1812, had a Roumanian Orthodox population mixed with Polish Jews. This southern region had no unity either of race, tongue, or religion.

5. Caucasia, which Alexander I. had begun to annex, was a conglomeration of little peoples, some Christian (Armenians), others Mussulmans (Circassians), but all warlike, whose subjection was not completed until 1864, and who have preserved their separate national life—the only exception being that certain princely families, particularly in Georgia, have mingled with the Russian aristocracy. This district was and still is the military frontier of the Empire, occupied by armies and military colonists, under a military government.

6. Western Russia, the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which Catherine II. had annexed, was composed of old Russian countries (*White Russia*), with an Orthodox Russian population, formerly subdued by the Lithuanians—and of a Lithuanian country in which a portion of the population still preserved the Lithuanian dress and speech, while another portion, particularly the aristocracy, considered themselves a Polish people. White Russia was Orthodox, but its nobility was Catholic; Lithuania proper was Catholic, but with a large proportion of Jews.

7. The Baltic provinces (Esthonia, Livonia, Courland) had a population of two classes, one subject to the other. The primitive inhabitants, Finns and Lithuanians, who were still in the condition of peasants, formed a lower class and preserved their national speech. All the upper classes, the nobility, clergy, and

townspeople, were descendants of German colonists, spoke German, and followed German ways of living. The Tsar, in receiving them as subjects, had promised to preserve their customs and privileges. All the inhabitants were Lutherans. The district of St. Petersburg (formerly Ingria), cut off from the Baltic provinces, had lost its original character; it was a mixture of all the languages and all the religions in the Empire—the residence of the court and the officials.

Siberia and later Asiatic Russia were more like colonies than provinces. The Duchy of Finland and the Kingdom of Poland, newly acquired by Alexander, remained distinct states, in which the Tsar was Grand Duke or King.

The Russian Empire was thus, like the Austrian Empire, a conglomeration of peoples; a single tie bound them together, subjection to the power of the *autocratic* Tsar, their absolute, uncontrolled sovereign. The political and social system had remained what Peter the Great and Catherine had made it. Society consisted of two classes, one subject to the other: the peasants, the great majority of whom were serfs of the crown or of the nobility, and subjected to the knout, the poll-tax, and military service; they paid the taxes to the government, rents to the nobles, and furnished the soldiers (military service was for 25 years): the landlord nobles (about 100,000 families), who were exempt from the knout, poll-tax, and military service, were supported by the peasants and filled the civil and military offices. The middle classes were of almost no consequence. The secular or *white* clergy, the *popes*, married, ignorant, poor, excluded from high office, had almost no part but to conduct the church ceremonies; the regular or *black* clergy, the monks, who alone could become bishops and abbots, were strangers to society. The merchants, although organized in corporations and officially recognised as a class, were scarcely above the peasants, and had neither education nor political life; except for the government residences, the Russian cities were simply enormous villages.

There were thus two classes of society, one placed above the other: underneath were the peasants, merchants, *popes*, and monks, who were still Eastern, Orthodox, strangers to any sort of culture or political interest; above were the nobles and the officers of the government, who had become Westernized, sceptical, and disposed to adopt all the political ideas of Europe, as well as its fashions and language. Between these two classes of society there was no mutual interest, not even that of language.

The high aristocracy spoke almost nothing but French; a number of the offices were filled by Germans from the Baltic provinces.

The government had this same incongruous character. At bottom it was still, like the people, eastern and patriarchal—that is, despotic: a single power, the *autocratic* Tsar, the absolute master, no other government centre than his residence, no law but his decrees (*ukases*), no public authority but his officials, no institutions but those he was pleased to establish. But it had pleased the Tsars to establish European institutions; and Russia had a European capital (St. Petersburg), European diplomacy, an army organized on the German system, a European centralization of the government, with councils and committees, European courts with written secret procedure, European police, taxes, and monopolies copied from Europe, division into *gubernies* (governments) and *districts*, assemblies of nobles under the presidency of a marshal chosen from the nobles after the German fashion. Even the Orthodox Church, the only national institution, was subject to an ecclesiastical college, the *Holy Synod*, and to a lay officer copied from Europe, the High Proctor of the Holy Synod, who proposed the appointments of the prelates and all ecclesiastical measures.

This was the "enlightened despotism" of the eighteenth century, without any sort of political liberty for subjects. The government admitted neither liberty of the press nor of public meeting, neither deliberative assemblies nor public demonstrations without authorization, neither control over the actions of officials nor guarantee against their abuse of power. Even religious freedom was limited by the state Church. All previous creeds of peoples annexed were protected by special promises from the Tsar; every Protestant, Catholic, Jew, or Mussulman subject was free to practise his religion. But no Orthodox subject could leave the official Church; conversion of an Orthodox to any other religion was forbidden under heavy penalty, and Dissenting sects (*raskol*) which broke away from the old Church, were pursued like criminals. Toleration was limited to foreign religions.

This system had never been perfectly applied. The Russian officials, accustomed to the indolent and arbitrary ways of the Eastern countries, let matters drag along, and eventually decided them by caprice or for bribes. They lost their heads in the European complication of bureaus and in the enormous mass of *ukases*, which were often contradictory.

The Government of Alexander I.—Alexander I., brought up by a Vaudois, Laharpe, and imbued with liberal and humanitarian ideas, had attempted to restore order in the central government by regulating the work of his ministers;* they had to meet in committee to decide together on current affairs, but they did not form a ministry, and the general direction of policy still depended on the personal influence which was brought to bear upon the Tsar. Peter the Great's Senate was reduced to the functions of a court of justice. The Council of State, established in 1810, was simply a consultative assembly, to give advice on projected laws.

Alexander I., following the advice of Speranski, the son of a *pope*, an experienced official, who advocated European reforms, had tried to emancipate the serfs, reorganize education, codify the laws, and reorganize finance; these reforms were only partially accomplished. After his rupture with France (1811) he fell under the influence of the anti-French patriotic party, Orthodox and absolutist, and of his aide-de-camp Araktchéieff. After 1815, deceived by Metternich, who represented to him the dangers of revolution, he gave up all idea of reform and left his officials to restore the customs of the eighteenth century. Russian political life withdrew into secret societies and Free Mason lodges, whose members were taken principally from among the high officials of state and army.

Alexander remained the autocratic Tsar in his Empire of Russia, but he wished to be a liberal sovereign in his new European states.

Finland and the Constitutional Kingdom of Poland.—Alexander had promised to leave the Grand Duchy of Finland in possession of its constitution. As in the Baltic provinces, the population was entirely Lutheran, but formed of two classes, one subject to the other. The country people, descended from the old Finnish population, preserved the Finnish language and dress; all the privileged classes, nobles, pastors, and bourgeois, were Swedish; Swedish was the official language of the government. Finland, after coming under the Tsar's rule, retained its Diet of four Estates, modelled after the Swedish system (until 1863 it

*In 1802, 8 ministers had been established: war, navy, foreign affairs, finance, commerce, justice, education, and interior. In 1811, 4 were added: police, roads and canals, foreign creeds, and control. After various changes, there were, in 1896, 12 ministers, including the Proctor of the Holy Synod.

was not convoked). It preserved its autonomy complete, its laws, courts, currency, postal system, even its customs duties. The civil government was still intrusted to the Finnish Senate, divided into two sections, justice and finance, to native office-holders and municipalities, which meant the Swedish nobility and middle class. Swedish remained the language of the administration.

The new Kingdom of Poland, created in 1815 from the former Grand Duchy of Warsaw, included only a bit of ancient Poland,* the district assigned to Prussia in the last division of Poland (1795); but this bit was Warsaw, the heart of the Polish nation in modern times. Alexander, disposed, through his friendship with Princess Czartoryski, to respect the Polish nation, made Poland an independent state, joined to Russia by a personal union alone. The Tsar bore simply the title of King there. The Kingdom of Poland kept all its institutions distinct, its Catholic Church, with its donations and privileges, its schools conducted in the Polish tongue, its currency, postal system, and customs duties, its administration, even its army. Its officials, clergy, and army officers were all Poles; offices were reserved to natives. The only outsiders were the Viceroy, the Tsar's representative, and the Imperial Commissioner.

Alexander had held to his plan of making his kingdom a constitutional monarchy, in spite of the advice of the absolutists. The Charter of December, 1815, guaranteed to the kingdom a native administration and created a Diet composed of a Senate of 30 members, appointed by the King, and a deputation of 60 nuncios, elected by the nobles and the cities. The Diet was convoked only once in two years, and then for a short session; its deliberations were directed by an Imperial Commissary. Its power was limited to voting the laws and new taxes; it had no influence over the ministry, which was responsible to the King alone; it had not even the right to censure the actions of the government. During the session of 1818 Alexander reminded it that it "had met simply to give its opinion on questions which the government judged it necessary to submit to its examination."

It was therefore a very imperfect system of constitutional liberty with a freedom of the press very much restricted by the censorship of newspapers. But at this period of absolutism, no

* The chief part had been at first (eleventh or twelfth century) the province of Posen, annexed to Prussia in 1793, then until the end of the Middle Ages it had been Lesser Poland (Galicia), which Austria had annexed.

other people of central Europe had as much political liberty as the Poles.

Society remained aristocratic in form. The peasants, freed from serfdom since 1807, but without having received lands, remained in the condition of day-labourers or tenants, at the mercy of the land-holding nobles. The population of the cities, partially composed of Jews, had taken almost no part in public life. The high nobility and clergy retained the management of the country.

The ministry, composed of former partisans of Napoleon, was at first controlled by Lubecki, a Lithuanian Catholic, who was little in favour of the constitutional system and occupied chiefly with the material interests of the kingdom. He succeeded in establishing the Bank of Poland and the Loan Association, which regulated the debt. Material prosperity increased. From 1815 to 1830 the population increased by a million and a half. Great cloth factories were established at Lodz. Polish bonds went up; the finances were so well ordered that the kingdom was able to advance one year's taxes to the Russian government.

This system did not, however, become popular in Poland; it checked both patriotism and liberalism. The patriots did not accept a Kingdom of Poland reduced to the dimensions of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; they demanded at least the former provinces of Lithuania which the Tsar had left outside. The Liberals accused the government of violating the Charter of 1815 by dismissing permanent judges, arresting members of the Diet, subjecting books to censorship, and closing the primary schools. People complained of the Imperial Commissioner, Novosiltzow, and still more of Viceroy Constantine, the Tsar's brother, a whimsical lunatic who forbade broad-brimmed hats, and with his own hand cut off the brims of offending hats.

The Diet attempted to warn the Tsar. He replied that his subjects must have unlimited confidence in his principles of Christian morality (1820); then declared that Poland's "existence was threatened if she did not show herself capable of maintaining herself in the system which had been bestowed upon her." Secret societies, copied from Europe, had been formed among the young men. One of these, the *Patriotic Club*, made its members swear to "devote their lives to the re-establishment of their unfortunate and dearly loved country." The Russian police discovered it; a court-martial condemned Lukazinski to hard labour (1824) for the mere fact of having belonged to a secret society.

Alexander finally forbade the Diet to make its deliberations public (1825) and arrested the leader of the opposition, who was made a prisoner on his own estate under the perpetual watch of a policeman.

The Insurrection of December, 1825.—Alexander, who at the end of his life had become an absolutist Tsar, died without leaving a son. His nearest heir, his brother Constantine, had before this renounced the crown, preferring to remain Viceroy of Poland, as he had married a Polish woman. His younger brother Nicholas, who was still in Russia, was designed as the successor to the throne; but, at the death of Alexander, he at once recognised Constantine as Tsar, and had the oaths taken in his name—awaiting a new renunciation before having himself proclaimed Tsar.

The Russian malcontents tried to take advantage of this interregnum to make a liberal revolution. There were then three secret societies in Russia, copied from those in western Europe, especially the *Carbonari;* their members, as in Spain and Italy, came from the most active part of the population at that time, the army officers. Their political ideas were confused; they wished to bring into Russia the institutions of western civilization, but they seem to have been unable to agree on their model. The *Northern Society,* founded at Petersburg, wanted a constitutional monarchy; the *Central Society,* recruited in the garrisons of Lesser Russia, preferred a republic; the *United Slavs* inclined toward federation. The leaders had concerted a military insurrection for January 1, 1826. The death of Alexander decided them to hasten it a few days; the conspiring officers took advantage of the changed situation by making the soldiers believe that the rightful Tsar was Constantine. Two regiments at Petersburg rose with the cry of "Long live Constantine and the constitution!" (To the soldiers this constitution was Constantine's wife.) After a moment of surprise, the revolt was checked, and the rebellious soldiers denounced each other. In the central part of the country the conspirators were arrested before taking action (December, 1825).

The revolt of the *Decabrists* (December) ended in an enormous prosecution; there were 321 accused, almost all nobles, and 5 were condemned to death. The dramatic execution of Pestel and Riléief was an event known all over Europe. This revolt made a deep impression on the new Tsar, Nicholas, and confirmed his aversion for European liberalism. To watch the sus-

pects, a ministry of political police was established under the name of the *third section of the Chancellery.*

The Polish Insurrection (1830-32).—Nicholas had agreed to be crowned King in Poland and to wear the Polish uniform. But he ceased to convoke the Diet and left the government of Poland to absolutists, who spoke of revoking the Charter of 1815; one of them declared: "It is no longer a question of discussion, but of obedience."

This system irritated all the Poles, but they could not agree on the course to pursue; they divided into two parties. The great landowners, high officials, and clergy, still preferred to be subjected to Nicholas' despotism rather than expose the Polish nation to complete destruction: Poland would await his death before taking up her constitutional life again, but she would maintain her independence. This was the prudent aristocratic party, nicknamed the *Whites.* The students of Warsaw, who admired France and the Revolution, wanted open strife against the Tsar for the defence of liberty and the re-establishment of Poland with her old boundaries. This was the patriotic democratic party, known as the *Reds,* directed by secret societies in communication with the *Carbonari.* In 1825 the leaders had had interviews with the Russian *Decabrists,* but had been unable to agree on the boundaries of Poland; they were prosecuted before the Senate, and acquitted.

Until 1830 the *Whites* kept the *Reds* in check. But the French revolution of 1830, so easily victorious, excited the fighting party. The Tsar called together the Polish army to send it against the revolutionists in France and Belgium. The revolutionists seized the moment when the national army was ready to march against the revolution and used it against the Tsar. The students in the military school surprised the Palace of Warsaw at night. Constantine was alarmed and fled half-clad; then, losing his mind, he withdrew from the kingdom, taking with him the Russian troops and officials (November-December, 1830).

The Poles, abandoned by the Russian government, sent delegates to Constantine, begging him to return, but he refused. The *Whites,* who wished before all to avoid war, decided to form a provisional government to maintain the authority of the Tsar. Chlopicki consented to take command of the troops, in order to prevent their following the revolutionary leaders; he took the dictatorship "in the King's name," and wrote to Nicholas an appeal to his nobility of soul, excusing the Poles by "an unprece-

dented chain of circumstances." He asked for withdrawal of the Russian army. The Tsar replied with a manifesto which demanded submission or death. He refused the Polish envoys to retract the manifesto or to make any promises. The Poles, he said, must trust their sovereign's word, and he added: "The first cannon-shot will be Poland's ruin."

The conciliatory *Whites* gave up the direction of the provisional government to the belligerent *Reds*. The Diet proclaimed the fall of the Romanoff dynasty and the indissoluble union of Poland and Lithuania (January, 1831). Official envoys were sent to ask help from the great powers which had made the treaties of Vienna. In England, Palmerston declared that the Congress of Vienna had not guaranteed the constitution of Poland. In France, in spite of public demonstrations, the government refused to join in a war. Poland was abandoned.

The Polish army, already mobilized, took the initiative by entering Lithuania. But when Dibitsch arrived with his great force (120,000 men against 45,000), the Poles fell back toward the Vistula. They made heroic resistance in five battles, from February to May, 1831. The cholera checked operations. The Russian army, renewed by re-enforcements, finally arrived before Warsaw. The general offered amnesty and the constitution; the Polish generals advised acceptance. But the democrats controlled Warsaw; they had just massacred a number of suspects in the prisons; they refused to treat with the Russians. Warsaw was bombarded, and surrendered, September, 1831. The Diet withdrew; the remains of the Polish army passed into Russia and Austria. A large Polish emigration, composed chiefly of nobles, went to France and settled there.

Poland remained under a military dictatorship. Nicholas took away her independence by an *ukase:* "Poland shall be henceforth a part of the Empire and form one nation with Russia." He abolished the Charter of 1815, replacing it by the Organic Statute of February, 1832. He suppressed the Diet and the Polish army, and gave the power to a Russian governor, Russian officials, and a section of the Council of St. Petersburg. He promised still to leave to the people their church, their language, and their distinct administration; but this promise, which was without guarantee, was not kept.

Paskiewitch, the new Viceroy of Poland, held an absolute power to the day of his death (25 years); he surrounded himself with Russian officials and officers, and kept the kingdom under

a military reign of terror. Orders were given to illuminate in honour of the Organic Statute. Two hundred and eighty-six *émigrés* were condemned to death; their estates were confiscated and distributed to Orthodox Russian generals. The government suppressed the University of Warsaw and closed most of the educational institutions. It forbade all associations, even reading clubs, permitting only the Loan Association. It forbade public meetings, except private evening entertainments, on condition that the number of invitations should be limited and police agents received. It subjected books and even music to a censorship which admitted no foreign book; it made the Russian language compulsory for all officials. All political offences, and even some others, were judged by military commissions. In 1835 Nicholas made at Warsaw a famous speech: "If you persist in holding to your dreams of separate nationality, independent Poland, and all these fancies, you will involve yourselves in great misfortunes. I have built a citadel, and I declare to you that at the least sign of uprising I will batter down the city."

The Empire under Nicholas (1825-35).—The Tsars since Peter the Great had kept up the absolutist *régime*, but, being indifferent to religious differences, they admired the monarchies of civilized Europe and sought to imitate them. Nicholas not only abhorred constitutions and liberal forms of government, but he despised European life. Being a confirmed Orthodox, he felt it a sacred duty to shut out from "Holy Russia" the ideas of the heretical West. His reign, which lasted from 1825 to 1855, was distinguished from preceding reigns by an attempt to break with Western civilization and to restore the old Russian system in the Empire.

Communication with Europe became difficult; such foreigners as were allowed to enter Russia, were watched by the police; all books and papers were stopped at the frontier by censors. Russian law did not recognise, and does not yet recognise, the right of subjects to leave the Empire; under Nicholas, a personal permit from the Tsar was required; he gave it rarely and for five years at the most; to emigrate was and is a crime punishable with transportation and confiscation.

The Russians, shut off from the rest of the world, retired within themselves. Literature, hitherto imitated from the West, took on a Russian character; it began to express a patriotic feeling of admiration for ancient Russia. Under Nicholas, the first original Russian novelists appeared. It was then that the

national hymn was composed, "God Protect the Tsar," and the national opera, "Life for the Tsar."

Nicholas seems to have been devoted to the work of rebuilding the old Orthodox Russia. But, as officials were controlled only by other officials, the control was always imaginary. The venality of employees of every sort, their negligence in the conduct of affairs, their insolence toward persons under their administration, their servility toward superiors, became so notorious that the Tsar himself approved the work of Gogol in putting them into his comedy of "The Inspector." The subjects had not even a means of protesting; newspapers were forbidden to discuss official acts, individuals to concern themselves with politics. In 1848, at Petersburg, a number of young men, officers, employees, and professors had adopted the habit of meeting in the evenings to read and discuss European publications. The police arrested 32 of them (1849); they were condemned to death, pardoned just before execution, and their sentence commuted to hard labour; one of them, Dostoïevsky, later wrote his recollections of the convict prison.

There were also, under Nicholas, a number of religious persecutions, against the sect of *Old Believers*. Penal laws, still in force, were adopted against the conversion of Orthodox believers to any other religion. Abjuration is punished with confiscation and from 8 to 10 years of hard labour; the attempt to convert an Orthodox believer by a sermon or a writing is punished with 8 to 16 months' imprisonment, and at the third offence with exile to Siberia; a person who neglects to hinder the conversion is liable to imprisonment. Every mixed marriage must be celebrated before a *pope*, and the children of such marriages brought up to Orthodoxy; any dissenting pastor who should perform such a marriage would be prosecuted. (This provision, abolished in 1865, was re-established in 1885.)

Under this reign began the attempt to Russianize by force the subjects in the western provinces. In the Polish provinces of Lithuania, the Uniate peasants (Catholic Greeks) received orders to accept Orthodoxy; then an assembly of Greek bishops declared the Uniate Church free from the Roman clergy and given over to Orthodoxy (1839). In the Kingdom of Poland, in spite of the Tsar's promise, the government persecuted the Catholics, closing the churches and convents under legal pretexts, forbidding sermons not authorized by the censor, as well as the employment of Catholic teachers. It laboured to suppress the remains of

Polish autonomy, subjected the schools to the Russian ministry of education (1839), transferred to the Senate at Petersburg the functions of the Council of State and the Court of Cassation (1841), and extended to Poland the Russian penal code.

At the end of the reign, even German, the official language of that army lacked direction, material, and management—all that the government correspondence should be carried on in Russian, and that officials must speak Russian. But it was not carried into effect.

The "Nicholas system" was denounced all over liberal Europe as a finished form of Eastern despotism; the literature of the period is filled with maledictions against "the autocrat" and his government. Nicholas was the symbol of absolutism in the struggle against liberal revolution, and loved to attribute this rôle to himself. A military sovereign before all, always dressed in uniform, busied in reviewing and watching his troops, he believed his army the best of its time; and in the period which followed 1848 he seemed the arbiter of Europe and the future conqueror of the Ottoman Empire. The Crimean war showed that that army lacked direction, material, and management—all that which demands orderly habits and control. Conquered by the Westerners whom he despised, Nicholas died broken-hearted and his system fell through (1855).

Liberal Reaction against the "Nicholas System."—Alexander II. spoke of his father with respect and retained the staff which had served him; but, as a humane and educated sovereign, he shrank from the system of compression and isolation; he therefore revived the imitation of the civilized societies of Europe. Without wishing to bind himself by a constitution, he announced his intention of making reforms and appealed to the nobles for assistance.

Immediately public opinion, which had remained hidden until now, sprang into life. It was shown among the educated nobles and students, known in Russia as the *intelligenzia*—the intelligent part of the nation. The Crimean war had suddenly changed the tone of society: the *Tchinovniks* (officials), responsible for malfeasances and neglects which defeat had exposed, had lost their assurance and dared not hinder criticism of their actions. The censorship was not suppressed, but, feeling itself no longer in favour, it relaxed its efforts. No newspaper published in Russia was as yet able to speak freely, but a refugee, Herzen, published at London a newspaper, the *Kolokol* (Bell),

whose numbers, though prohibited, found their way into Russia by the thousand; Alexander II. himself read them, to keep informed on the abuses of power. It is said that an official denounced in one issue placed before the Tsar a falsified number in which the article was suppressed; some time later the Tsar received from London a letter containing the article with an exposure of the trick.

The *intelliguenzia* was agreed in demanding reforms; but on the nature of the reforms they were divided into two camps. The great majority desired liberal institutions like those in Europe, representative assemblies, a constitution, and guarantees of liberty: these were the *westerners*, the liberal party, who predominated at Petersburg. Some, on the other hand, wished to go back to the days before Peter the Great, to suppress the European importations of the eighteenth century, and to restore the institutions of the Russian people in their purity, Orthodoxy and the patriarchal aristocracy. These were the *nationalists*, the patriotic party, formed, during the *régime* of isolation, at Moscow, the old capital, abandoned since the time of Peter the Great. This historic school, essentially Russian, was nevertheless an imitation of the West, a Russian form of romanticism; the old Russia which it wished to restore was an imaginary Russia like the Middle Ages of the romanticists; it took the *boïars* for a national parliament and the *mir* for a primitive free commune.

The two parties began by working together against the officials—the common enemy of every reform. They demanded, besides liberty of the press and of education, a control over the officials and, above all, emancipation of the serfs. Alexander followed their advice. He recalled some of the Siberian exiles, modified the censorship, permitted travel, including trips to other countries, and prepared a scheme for emancipation of the serfs. Without changing his ministers or the political institutions of his empire, he allowed his subjects an amount of freedom beyond precedent.

The Emancipation of the Serfs (1858-63).—The most important measure of the reign was the reform of the land system, coupled with the liberation of the serfs. If we leave out of sight the two extremes of the country,—the north inhabited by landowning peasants, the south studded with foreign colonies or peopled with Cossacks,—almost the whole of historical Russia was held in large estates with serfs as labourers. This system rested on three institutions:

1. The land was held in large estates, partly belonging to the Tsar and the imperial princes, the rest to about 100,000 noble families. The large estates absorbed nine-tenths of the whole arable land of the Empire. Each estate was divided into two parts, the one farmed directly by the owner, the other handed over to a village of peasants in return for a yearly payment.

2. The peasants were attached to the soil by law. As a result they found themselves bound to the proprietor of the land: they paid him dues, performed for him compulsory labour, obeyed him as their master. Their condition was that of mediæval serfs (the Russian word designating them is translated by serf). But the proprietors were not satisfied to act merely as mediæval barons; they used their power, practically unlimited, to transform themselves into *masters* in the old sense. Often they detached the peasant from the land and used him according to their fancy. They sent serfs to establish themselves in towns as artisans, or traders, requiring them to pay a periodical due from their earnings (the *obrok*) and reserving the right to call them home at pleasure. About 2,000,000 of serfs were employed in the personal service of their masters about their residences; their condition was that of ancient slaves. In Russian society of the nineteenth century all the characteristics of Roman slavery reappeared: unbridled brutality on the part of the masters, servile submission on the part of the serfs; the female serfs handed over to the caprice of the master, the men compelled to follow all trades, and avenging themselves by murders and house-burnings (70 at least each year on an average), beaten, mutilated, done to death. The picture is the same in all the descriptions of Russian life.*

3. The part of the estate cultivated by the peasants was not divided up into separate holdings, as in the case of the mediæval serfs. The Russian serf had nothing but his house as an individual possession; it was the village as a whole, the *mir*, that held the land collectively. The woods, the pastures, the streams were used in common; the meadows and plough-lands were distributed in portions, but for a term only, varying in length from two to fifteen years, according to the custom of each region. At the end of the term the whole was returned to the condition of common property and redistributed. The Russians have so little studied their country that this institution had only lately been

*The most striking is that given in Tourguenef's "Souvenirs d'un Chasseur."

made known to the world, and that by a foreigner, Haxthausen; but as soon as known, the *mir* had become one of the favourite institutions of the National party—a venerable relic of ancient Russia, a survival of the collective ownership that was believed to have been the primitive system of the human race.*

This condition of affairs made reform far from easy. Alexander began by consulting the provincial nobles. He wished them to take the initiative, but they preferred to keep their serfs. The Tsar stood firm; he brought together a "committee on the state of the peasantry," which prepared a plan of emancipation. Then the question was officially brought to the attention of the governor of Wilna; the Tsar, speaking as if the nobles of Lithuania were in favour of the reform, authorized them to form committees "to improve the lot of the peasants" (November, 1857). He brought it to the notice of the nobles of the other provinces also, and compelled them, too, to form committees for the discussion of his project.

A declaration, in 1858, laid down the principles of the reform: the peasants should buy out their master's claim to their houses and garden-plots with a sufficient area of farming-land to live upon; the state should aid them to pay. The Tsar set an example by freeing the serfs on the lands belonging to members of the imperial family; these serfs were at once turned into landowners, subject to an annual payment for forty-nine years (Settlement of 1863).† For the serfs of the ordinary estates, the emancipation, hindered by the passive resistance of the nobles, took more than three years to complete it. The Ukase of February 19, 1861, finally abolished serfdom.

The serfs that had been living detached from the land, domestic servants, and those under the *obrok* were declared free, but without right to property. These came into the condition of the ordinary European day-labourers. The situation of the peasants on the land, much more difficult to regulate, presented three questions for solution:

* It is probable that the *mir* is a recent institution, created, like all other Russian institutions, by order of the Tsar, to facilitate the collection of the taxes by making the villages responsible collectively. It does not clearly appear, in the sources before the sixteenth century, and it was not formerly established in Little Russia. (See Keussler.)

† The peasants on the Tsar's own crown estates had not been treated as serfs, but as farmers under obligation to remain on the crown estates; they were in 1866 made into free farmers on long leases, with the right of buying out the crown's right in their lands.

1. *The Peasant's Right in the Land.*—The nobles, in law the owners of the soil, wished to keep the whole of it. The peasants regarded themselves as the legitimate owners of land which they had cultivated from generation to generation and from which they could not be lawfully evicted. The serfs of a certain village, whose master offered them liberty on condition of leaving the land, replied: "We are yours, but the land is ours." The enfranchisement in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, in 1807, and in the Baltic provinces from 1816 to 1820, had consisted in declaring the serfs free and the noble the sole owner of the land. The result had been to transform the peasants into needy day-labourers or tenants-at-will. To avoid the creation of a similar agricultural proletariat in Russia, a device was adopted. The peasant-lands were divided into two parts: the landlord kept one, and the other was allotted to the peasants; they got the right to redeem the landlord's interest in it and in the house and garden, but with the consent of the landlord and on payment of a sum sufficient to compensate him for the land and the lost right to services. The state advanced four-fifths of the sum necessary—two thousand five hundred millions in all.* The peasants came under obligation to reimburse the government by paying six per cent. on the sum advanced, for forty-nine years. The portion assigned to each peasant and his share of the debt to the government varied according to the quality of the land.

2. *System of Peasant Proprietors.*—Ought the ownership in the new land-system to be individual or collective? It was the fashion at that time to speak of the danger that the peasants might become mere hired labourers, as in so many Western communities. There was a hope of avoiding this danger by retaining the common ownership of the *mir*. Under the influence of Miliutin it was decided that, in principle, the land should be granted, not to the individual peasant, but to the commune as a body, giving the assembly the right to assign it, by two-thirds vote, as private property, to its members.

3. *Rights of the Nobles over the Peasants.*—The nobles wished to retain the police jurisdiction over their peasants, as in the Baltic provinces. The Tsar preferred to deprive the former masters of all legal authority and to give the police powers to the assemblies of the peasants. The *mir*, formed of the heads of families, presided over by a village elder, decides on the admission of new

* According to Wallace's "Russia" the nobles had, for the most part, to remit the other fifth.—TR.

members, settles the distribution of the land and the taxes; it can inflict corporal punishments and even expel from the commune —a very heavy punishment, for the expelled peasant is driven into distant exile, often to Siberia. The *Volost*, a union of several villages, has an assembly of elected delegates, an elected head and collectors of taxes, and a secretary; it has charge of certain common burdens—roads, schools, and relief of the poor. It has an elective tribunal, which judges in minor cases under customary law, and can sentence to imprisonment or whipping.

The Ukase of 1861 settled the principles of the reform at one stroke; but it gave time for applying them and created special courts for settling disputes as to sharing the lands or fixing the compensations. It was assumed that the redemptions would be completed in twenty years. The process was slower than the forecast. In 1882 there were still a million and a half of peasants who had not redeemed the claims of the nobles. The economic results did not at first correspond to the expectations. The nobles had set too high a valuation on their rights and too low an estimate on the quantity of land necessary to support a peasant. The compensation, fixed at from 8 to 10 rubles for each allotment, exceeded the value of the land; in the central regions the allotments were less than 12 acres; a third of the peasants got less than 8 acres. The people, unable to live on the land assigned, emigrated or went off to work as hired labourers. So a class of agricultural day-labourers came into existence—a result which the *mir* was expected to prevent. But the *mir* is breaking up of its own accord, in proportion as population increases; for land is lacking for the newcomers. In 1882 it was estimated that ten per cent. of the families in the government of Moscow were without land. The compensations paid to the nobles, amounting to 700,000,000 of rubles up to 1890, have not resulted, as was expected, in improving agriculture. The nobles have gone on selling their lands to capitalists whose only object in buying is to cut down the forests for timber.

Meanwhile the emancipation of the serfs has transformed Russian society. By giving the mass of the population equal liberty and the management of their communal affairs it has converted Russia into a modern state. It has prepared her to deliver herself from arbitrary practices, from the servility and sloth that attend slavery, and has brought her the legal conditions that go with private enterprise and orderly public administration. The economic progress of the country showed itself at the end of Alex-

ander II.'s reign by the increased area of cultivation, increased value of land, greater yield of the taxes, increase of export trade, and improved condition of the peasantry.

Alexander II.'s Liberal Reforms.—After this great social reform the Liberals expected a constitution. Alexander refused to grant one. The assembly of the nobles of Tver having asked for "the convocation of a national assembly of deputies from all parts of the Empire," thirteen of its members were arrested. The Tsar carried out a series of limited reforms which must serve to indicate that the scope of his plan was to abolish privileges and class distinctions with a view to consolidating all his subjects into one nation on the basis of equality.

1. Justice had been dispensed by administrative officers with secret and written procedure, in the eighteenth-century manner. It was now remodelled to accord with the nineteenth century. The Tsar decreed, in 1862, that the judicial power should be independent of the administration and reserved for regular courts organized in a gradation of jurisdictions, on the Western model —justices of the peace (sitting singly), sessions of several justices of the peace (as in England), district courts, supreme court, Senate (acting as a court of final appeal). As in other countries, prosecuting attorneys were appointed, a bar instituted, trial by jury for criminal cases established, together with publicity of proceedings and secure tenure for the judges. These reforms had a political bearing: they established equal justice for all, surrounded by guarantees against arbitrary interference. They made the justices of the peace local representatives, for they must be elected by the municipal councils of the cities and by the *Zemstvos*.

2. To make up for the refusal of a voice in the government, the people are called on to take part in the local administration. Self-government was the fashion in Europe at the time: it was represented as the only solid foundation of political liberty. Therefore two grades of local assemblies, or *Zemstvos*, were instituted: one for each district in a province, and a central assembly for the whole province. The *Zemstvo* of the district is composed of deputies elected by the three recognised classes, nobles, city people, and peasants, the first two classes electing their representatives directly, the other class choosing electors to choose for them. The *Zemstvo* of the province is composed of delegates elected by the discrict assemblies. It holds but one short session yearly; it elects a standing committee for three years. The

assemblies of both grades are to act on "matters connected with the economic interests and needs" of the people: roads, bridges, public buildings, churches and schools, relief of the poor, prisons, public health. They have the right of imposing local taxes.

3. The preventive censorship of books and newspapers was abolished in the two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, in 1865, and was replaced with the system used in France under Napoleon III.—administrative notice in case of objectionable articles and suspension in case of repetition of the offence. In the other cities the old censorship was retained.

4. Public schools on the European model were organized. By the side of the old classical "gymnasium," institutions were founded for giving a modern scientific education, on the model of the German *Realschule*.

5. The army was reorganized on the Prussian model. The twenty-five-year service for a limited number was replaced by obligatory short-term service for all (1873).

The Polish Insurrection of 1863.—The severe measures of Nicholas had not destroyed the Polish nation. The nobles had retired to their estates and lived among their peasantry; they, the women, and the clergy had fostered the national feeling among the rising generation. The Polish exiles were urging Europe to intervene in order to re-establish Poland. The aristocratic exiles gathered about Prince Czartoriski in Paris were counting on the help of the Catholic countries. The young Poles who had joined the democratic parties in various countries were looking for a new European revolution. The national movement extended to the Polish regions of Lithuania, which had been incorporated with Russia proper and were officially known as "the Governments of the Northwest."

Alexander II. would have no independent Poland. To the deputies of the nobles at Warsaw he said: "Let us have no idle dreams. Embrace the union with Russia and abandon all thoughts of independence, now and forevermore impossible. All that my father did was rightly done. My reign shall be a continuation of his." But, in practice, Gortschakoff, the new governor, relaxed the severity of the repressive system.

The Polish nobles had been allowed to retain their control in the rural districts. Each in his own domain had the legal ownership of the soil, the charge of police and village administration, together with the right of choosing the priests. The Agro-

nomic Society, founded in 1855, supplied them with a mechanism for acting in concert. It had more than 5000 members. A central committee at Warsaw directed its action.

Alexander II. was at that time expected to make liberal reforms in Poland. One of the leaders of the aristocratic party, the Marquis Wielopolski, at his request submitted reports for his examination; but the government at Petersburg took no further action. The Poles grew tired of waiting and began to make public demonstrations in 1860 and 1861. These were at first mass-meetings, passive and silent, to celebrate the anniversaries of the revolution of 1830. On the occasion of one of these celebrations, under the auspices of the Agronomic Society, the crowd was charged by Russian soldiers. The burial of the victims gave occasion for one more manifestation of popular feeling. The Agronomic Society sent to the Tsar an address claiming the "institutions emanating from national spirit, its traditions and its history."

Alexander, drawn in opposite directions by two parties, wavered between two policies: whether to make liberal concessions and appease the Poles, or to suppress these demonstrations by force. In March, 1861, he granted Poland a separate ministry of education and public worship, to which he appointed the Marquis of Wielopolski, a Pole; he also granted a Council of State and elective provincial assemblies. In April he suppressed the Agronomic Society; a crowd gathered to demand its restoration, and the affair ended in a massacre. Between May, 1861, and June, 1862, the Tsar changed the governor five times, sometimes appointing a friend, sometimes an enemy, to the Poles. The demonstrations continued, notably on the anniversary of the union with Lithuania and the death of Kosciusko. The mob took refuge in the churches and was driven out by the soldiers. The electors of the provincial assemblies refused to vote, demanding an "elective representation with free discussion."

As in 1830, the malcontents were divided into two parties, the *Whites*, the party of the great landowners, united in the Agronomic Society, and the *Reds*, the democratic party, made up of the students, officers, and young men of Warsaw, directed by a secret central committee. Alexander decided to give the government to Marquis Wielopolski, who accepted Russian domination in order to save Polish self-government; Grand Duke Constantine, the friend of the Liberals, was appointed viceroy. But the Polish patriots wanted to see their country independent. The

Reds regarded Wielopolski as a traitor, and attempted to assassinate him in July and August, 1862. The Whites refused to support him. In response to a proclamation from Constantine, enumerating the reforms to be made, a meeting of the nobility declared it impossible to maintain the government "unless it was a national Polish government, with all the provinces united under free laws." The nobility of Podolia and Lithuania voted addresses demanding union with the Kingdom of Poland.

In order to rid himself of the democratic party, Wielopolski planned to make use of military recruiting. He issued a secret order for levying recruits, not, as was the custom, from among the peasants, but in the cities, and without excepting the students, choosing by preference persons "of ill repute since the late troubles." At Warsaw the young men designated were arrested at night and imprisoned in the citadel. But the majority had been warned in time and had taken refuge in the woods. Thus began the insurrection of 1863.

It was a secret revolt, altogether different from that of 1830. The insurgents had at no time either army, government, or fixed centre. They were not in control of any city, the whole country remaining in the power of the Russian officials and soldiers. But armed bands, formed in the forests, appeared suddenly, made little skirmishes, and finally took refuge on Austrian soil, in Galicia. The secret central committee at Warsaw printed and posted proclamations, gave orders, levied contributions, and bore itself like a government, while the Poles obeyed it without letting the Russian police discover it (it met in the University buildings). This committee first declared itself a provisional government and issued a proclamation against "the foreign government of brigands," promising to the peasants ownership of their land and to the landlords indemnity at the state's expense. All who took part in the war were to receive allotments of land (January, 1863). In March it enjoined the Polish subjects of Austria and Prussia to make no revolt in their provinces, but to "concentrate all the national force against the most terrible enemy, the Russian Tsar." It begged them to send men, arms, and money to the Poles in Russia. It appointed successively two dictators, then proclaimed itself "the national government." Another secret committee, formed at Wilna, called itself the "national government" in Lithuania, declaring the country an inseparable part of Poland (March 31). Then the provinces of the southwest, Volhynia, Podolia, and Ukraine, revolted in May, 1863.

The secret government of Warsaw began to publish newspapers and to give official orders stamped with a seal. It forbade Poles to pay taxes to Russians, to accept partial amnesty, to go to the theatres, sing in churches, or ring bells. It ordered the wearing of mourning, established a compulsory loan and contribution. Its orders were obeyed. In each circle it established a revolutionary tribunal of three members to judge offences against the national cause; the Warsaw tribunal condemned to execution, or rather assassinated, ten Russian agents.

The Poles did not expect to deliver their country through their own efforts, but hoped for the intervention of the European powers. However, Bismarck, who governed Prussia, aided Russia by signing a secret convention closing the Prussian frontier to the insurgents. The Prussian Landtag even accused him of delivering up refugees. The three other great states, France, Austria, and England, arranged to send identical notes to the Russian Government. They urged "six points": 1. amnesty; 2. national legislative representation; 3. national administration by Polish officials; 4. complete religious liberty; 5. Polish as the official language; 6. a regular system of recruiting. Three times the European governments took this collective action in favour of Poland (April, June, and August, 1863). But they were not sufficiently tenacious of their claims to support them with actions. The Russian government simply replied that it was not bound by the treaties of 1815 in the government of Poland and that the insurrection, the work of "the party of disorder," was sustained only by the hope of intervention.

Repression of the Polish National Movement.—In Russia, the Liberals had at first favoured the Poles in their common demand for political liberty. Herzen sided with them, the Petersburg students assisted at a funeral service for the Warsaw victims, and Bakounine formed a volunteer corps. But the little Russian nationalist party of Moscow supported the government against the insurgents. Katkoff, editor of the Moscow *Gazette*, and an enemy to Europeans, attacked the Poles as false to the Slavic brotherhood. He said that in fighting the only state capable of bringing the Slavic idea to triumph they were acting as aristocrats and enemies of the Orthodox religion. The Poles' intention of taking Lithuania again, a partially Russian and Orthodox country, served to excite Russian patriotism. A wave of public opinion, shown by addresses to the Tsar, urged the government to a patriotic and religious crusade against the Poles.

Thus repression took on a Russian and Orthodox character, and was more systematic than in 1832.

It began with the Lithuanian provinces. Mouravief, appointed governor-general of the four Lithuanian governments, in May, 1863, subjected the country to a "military civil administration." In each district an officer, called prefect of war and invested with absolute power, was charged with the supervision of all the authorities, clergy, and landowners; he was to dismiss every office-holder, arrest and send before a council of war every individual suspected of having aided the insurgents or even of not having denounced them. He was to sequestrate the estates of any who should give assistance to the insurgents or attempt to overthrow the government. Mouravief systematically crushed the Polish aristocracy. He imposed an income tax of 10 per cent. on the estates of the nobility, payable within eight days under penalty of the sale of their personal property. He employed their Orthodox peasants against the Polish Catholic landlords. While he disarmed the whole population he created armed bodies of peasants and sent them in pursuit of insurgents, promising a bounty for each prisoner. He distributed the possessions of insurgent nobles among the peasants, giving preference to those that had distinguished themselves in the campaign of repression. All insurgents taken with arms upon their persons were executed within 24 hours, and mourning for them was forbidden. Landlords were ordered to remain on their estates and were made responsible for every act of insurrection within their domain.

When the insurrection was put down, Mouravief began to Russianize Lithuania. In February, 1864, he declared Russian the only official language; he then closed the Polish bookstores and publishing houses, and forbade the building or repairing of Catholic churches without special permission. Later he ordered that Catholic religious instruction should be given in Russian. The Polish language and the Roman alphabet were forbidden even in private life; it was a crime for a tradesman to answer a customer in Polish. Mouravief was nicknamed by the Poles "the butcher of Wilna"; but the Russian patriots extolled him and established a national holiday in memory of the deliverance of Lithuania and the subjugation of the Polish nobility.

In the southwestern provinces the Russian governors crushed the Polish movement by similar processes, arresting the patriotic

nobles and sending them to Siberia, and replacing native officials with Orthodox Russians. The United Greek Church was turned into the Orthodox Church.

In the Kingdom of Poland, the governor, as military dictator, surrounded Warsaw in September, 1863, and searched all the houses without finding the central committee. He revenged himself by imposing a special contribution and arresting hundreds of suspects. The Poles, despairing of European support, gave up the battle in February, 1864. The members of the committee were found and hanged in August.

The Polish patriots, suspected of sympathy with the insurgents, were arrested in all the Polish districts and transported in a body to Siberia, either as free exiles or condemned to enforced labour in the mines. A "government commission" invested with absolute power was charged with the reorganization of Poland. The head of the commission undertook "to root out Latin civilization and replace it with a true Slavic civilization." All the institutions belonging to Poland were destroyed, and in 1867 the country was divided into 10 governments and 85 districts like the rest of the Empire and with the same administrative system. The governing boards were removed from Warsaw to Petersburg.

Polish patriotism had been shown especially by the nobles, students, and clergy; it was kept up by the Polish language and the Catholic religion, which made the Poles feel themselves a different nation from the Russians. The Russian government wished to exterminate Polish, and made Russian the language of education in the University of Warsaw, the secondary colleges, and the primary schools. It forbade the use of Polish in all administrative acts, then in judicial acts (1876), and finally in the churches, in signs, and in public notices.

In order to weaken the clergy the majority of the monastic bodies were suppressed in 1864. Of 155 monasteries with 1635 monks there remained 25 with 360; of 42 convents with 549 nuns there remained 10 with 140. As the secular clergy could not be destroyed, they were subjected to political supervision and their estates secularized—the Church receiving in return grants of money from the state (1865). The concordat with the Pope was abrogated in 1866 in spite of the remonstrances of Pius IX. The administration of the Catholic Church was handed over to the ecclesiastical college at Petersburg. Orders were given to the United Greek clergy to use the Russian language and suppress

all Roman Catholic rites. Then the Uniate Church of Poland was detached from Rome and made a part of the Orthodox Church.

In order to destroy the power of the nobility in the country, a radical land reform was made in March, 1864. The peasants occupying lands under the crown, clergy, and nobles, were declared *proprietors* of their houses and cattle, and the land of which they had been only tenants. All seigniorial dues and compulsory services were abolished and replaced by an annual tax of considerably less amount—two-thirds of the annual value of the services and four-fifths of the annual dues. The government received the tax and compensated the landowners by an annuity of 5 per cent. for 42 years. The village became a commune administered by the assembly of peasants, a mayor, and a summary tribunal, both elected. The priest and the noble were excluded from the assembly. The nobles lost by this reform about one-half of their income and all rights over their former peasants. The peasants not only became at a stroke independent of their lords, but they received more land and with fewer charges than the Russian peasants. Another measure toward Russification was to forbid Poles to acquire lands in Poland.

It does not appear that the government has succeeded in Russianizing the Polish people. But it has not restored the former institutions, and Poland has remained under a system of martial law, administered without restraint by Russian generals and officials.

Return to Absolutism in Russia.—Alexander II.'s liberal measures had never been sincerely accepted by the officials, accustomed as they were to carry on the administration without publicity or restraint. The Tsar himself had hesitated, and the officials had used every opportunity to return to the former system. In the arrangements for the emancipation of the serfs they had fixed, for the limit of the lots of land and the redemption of the nobles' rights, figures disadvantageous to the peasants; and they delayed the work of redemption. In 1862 a "central committee of revolution" having published a proclamation against the imperial family, and numerous incendiary crimes having startled Petersburg, the government closed the reading clubs and circulating libraries and suspended a number of journals. It arrested Tschernyschewski, a democratic writer, author of the famous novel "What is to be done?" and condemned him to fourteen years of hard labour. A number of young democrats had

organized Sunday-schools for the instruction of poor children; the government closed them.

After the Polish insurrection, the nationalist party began to curse European institutions and to declare the autocratic system the only one that would bring about Russian unity. When the Moscow assembly begged the Tsar to grant a representative constitution, Alexander replied: "The right of initiative belongs to me exclusively and is united inseparably to the autocratic power which God has intrusted to me. . . No one is qualified to come before me with requests concerning the general interests and needs of the state." The *Zemstvos* attempted to busy themselves with local affairs, to control officials and even to express political views. But the government distrusted them, permitting the publication of their deliberations only after review by the governor, forbidding the expression of political views and suspending or closing their sessions. It gave the governor the power to suspend all their decisions when he judged them contrary to the welfare of the state. Thus hampered, the *zemstvo* did not become an institution of *self-government* as had been hoped, but remained subject to the officials.

The judicial reform was to guarantee subjects against despotism and to do away with special and secret tribunals. But on the first occasion for the application of the new system to a political crime, the government flinched. A fanatic named Karakosof had fired upon the Tsar; instead of sending him before the common court, they had him tried secretly before a special commission, according to the old usage. This precedent became the custom; in political cases special commissions are employed, and they judge secretly without guarantee for the accused. This process was regulated in 1871; in every political affair the minister of justice decided whether the accused should be tried by judicial procedure before a jury or by special procedure before a secret commission; he rarely decided in favour of jury trial. Persons accused of political offences had neither publicity nor guarantee. They were seized by the police and kept in prison on suspicion indefinitely, in prisons like those of the eighteenth century, dark, damp, fever-dens, where they lay at the mercy of their jailers. Officials could even dispense with judicial formalities. Russian law did not guarantee free choice of a dwelling place, but gave officials the right to assign a residence to the Tsar's subjects in any part of the Empire, even in Siberia. Russian officials could seize and transport to Siberia by *administrative means* per-

sons of forbidden opinions, sometimes even those who on accusation had been tried and acquitted. Transportation was usually effected by *Kibitka*, springless vans,—whence arose the popular expression "*Kibitka* justice,"—and the family of a suspect often knew not even where he had been taken.*

Liberty of the press was rendered a fallacy in both capitals by warnings and suspensions. The newspapers could publish only what the officials were pleased to let pass; there were left only the official political organs and that of Katkoff, leader of the autocratic party, the Moscow *Gazette*.

Education matters were put in charge of a new Minister of Education, Count Tolstoï, an absolutist (not to be confused with Leo Tolstoï, also a count, the great novelist, of liberal and evangelical opinions). He revolutionized secondary education, suppressing the sciences, which were considered revolutionary, and substituting the ancient languages. In the universities he forbade students' clubs, and when they held an indignation meeting, treated them as insurgents (1869). He finally appointed special inspectors to watch them.

The Opposition Parties.—The gradual return to the absolutist system was a bitter disappointment for the *intelligenzia*. The enthusiasm of the first years of the reign was followed by a profound discontent. An opposition was formed, among young men in particular, which little by little became revolutionary. This evolution, begun in 1861, may be divided into three phases: the critical dissatisfaction of Liberals about 1869, the socialist movement until 1875, and finally revolutionary terrorism.

1. In the years following the reform of 1861 the malcontents were chiefly those who admired European institutions, the liberal aristocratic nobles, young men, and democratic humanitarian students. They would have wished more far-reaching reforms, a European constitution, a representative assembly (which the nobles demanded *officially* in a number of provinces), complete liberty of press and religion. They complained that the reform decrees were not applied. The discontent was at first theoretical and vague, a sort of general discouragement. Then, when the reform turned out a failure, the cultivated Russians, reflecting on the social conditions of their country, found them

* This system of transportation and enforced residence by administrative authority is described by Kennan, the American journalist, who saw it in operation. His book, "Siberia," though little noticed in France, has had great attention in the United States and Europe.

desperate and gave up hope. They did not form an active party, and the secret societies had been paralyzed by the prosecutions of 1862 to 1864; they contented themselves with a pessimistic criticism of society in general. Natural sciences and positivist and materialist philosophy were the fashion of the hour; people dissected frogs and read Buckle, Darwin, and Büchner. Tourguenef described this condition of mind in his novel "Fathers and Children" in 1862. He gave these cynical pessimists the name of *nihilists*.* The name became famous all over Europe, and it is still used as a term of reproach for the Russian revolutionists. The malcontents of this generation were addicted to a very destructive criticism, scoffing at religion, family ties, and government; but they attempted little in the way of action. Karakosof's attempt against the Tsar in 1866 made a great impression; it was the first attempt by a *Russian*. The government replied with a rescript against these dangerous doctrines that were attacking every sacred object, destroying the foundations of the family and property, obedience to the law, and respect for authority. From this rescript dates the definite return to the absolutist system. The malcontents became alarmed and fled the country.

2. In foreign countries the refugees adopted socialistic ideas. These ideas began to enter Russia in two forms: Marxist socialism, represented in particular by Lavroff, and Proudhon's anarchy, adopted by Bakounine. But Bakounine, by adapting Proudhon's doctrine to Russian ideas, wished to transfer the ownership of the soil to the commune (*mir*) and declared that to prepare the way for revolution the people must be roused by acts of violence, riots, and conspiracies. A revolutionist named Netchajew founded a society directed by a secret committee, and persuaded the members that Russia was full of societies ready for action. His heroes were the national brigands, Razin and Pougatchef. The society murdered a spy in 1868, and was discovered and suppressed. But the doctrines continued to spread. Bakounine's motto was "to go among the people," which meant to mingle with the people and excite them to revolt. Lavroff also recommended preparing the people for a peaceful economic revolution by educating them. A proclamation invited the *intelliguenzia* to descend among the people. Several groups were formed, composed mainly of students and young girls. Then began a period of obscure acts of self-devotion: the young men

* The word itself was not new, having been used in France before 1848.

became day-labourers or peasants in order to mix with the people. That their white skin might not betray them they exposed their faces to the sun and blackened their hands with tar. They talked with their fellow workmen, secretly printed and distributed propagandist writings. Tourguenef describes in his novel "Virgin Soils" this new generation of agitators, so different from the *nihilists*. These socialists spread over several provinces; but having neither common organization nor uniform tactics, they produced no important results. The government, warned in 1874 by an informer, ordered the prosecution of 770 persons; 265 suspects were held in prison in 1875. The secret societies, recognising the uselessness of peaceful propagandism, sought to influence the peasants by announcing a more equitable division of land. There were several local riots of peasants discontented at having received too small a portion of the village land. Arrests and political prosecutions continued, that of Odessa in 1877 involving 193 accusations. Political prisoners complained of brutal treatment in the prisons. In 1878, a young girl named Vera Sassulitch fired on the chief of police, who was accused of having had prisoners beaten; her case was brought before a jury and she was acquitted.

3. The movement then changed its character, and violent socialists assumed control. They gave up the propagation of doctrine and even the preparations for social revolution; experience had proved that propagandism is impossible under the absolutist system and that Russia has no proletary class to aid a revolution. The malcontents wished first to destroy the absolutist system and force the government to grant a national representation and liberty of the press: social revolution would come later. The Russian revolutionists gave up social agitation provisionally in order to return to the former program of the Liberals; they demanded political liberty. But they employed other resources for advancing their cause; to the governmental terror they wished to oppose a revolutionary *terror*. In May, 1878, remnants of the secret societies of Petersburg and Southern Russia met in a secret society, strongly organized at Petersburg under a directing committee, which ordered and prepared attempts against the authorities. Each member bound himself to the execution of decrees. The party had a very small membership, formed of a number of obscure young men, students, workingmen, and young women, but strongly organized for action, with secret printing establishments, laboratories, and money which they pro-

cured by voluntary gifts or by terror. It began with the murder of several spies. It then attacked the officers of police and administration who arrested or maltreated people of the party. The chief of the "third section" (the political police), who had maltreated persons under arrest, was stabbed in broad daylight. The *terrorists* were fighting a duel with the government. From 1878 to 1882 there were 6 attempts against high officials, 4 against chiefs of police, and 9 spies were killed; 31 revolutionists were executed, 8 died in prison, and 3 committed suicide. The Tsar called on Russian society for aid against the "revolutionary band" in August, 1878. Certain *Zemstvos* answered this appeal by pointing out the vices of the administration and begging the Tsar to grant his subjects "the same liberties as he had gained for the Bulgarians."

The Terrorists decided to kill the Tsar. Four attempts were made against him: a shot, a mine under the railroad over which the imperial train was to pass, an explosion of dynamite in the Winter Palace, finally bombs thrown against his carriage in March, 1881. To oppose the Terrorists, Alexander in 1879 divided the country between 6 governors-general invested with discretionary powers. In 1880 he established a commission for the preservation of order in the state, whose head, Loris Melikoff, enjoyed a sort of dictatorship. Loris Melikoff tried to win the good opinion of the Liberals by pardoning condemned persons, ordering an investigation of the prisons, and forbidding the governors to sentence to transportation by administrative order. Alexander seemed ready to restore the liberal system; he dismissed Count Tolstoï, suppressed the third section, and was about to sign a project for the creation of deliberative assemblies, when he was assassinated. The Terrorist executive committee announced that the death sentence pronounced upon the Tsar, on September 9, 1879, had just been carried out, and called on his successor, Alexander III., to give Russia a liberal system.

Alexander III.'s Reign.—Alexander did not dismiss Loris Melikoff at once. He even seemed to approve the creation of a reform committee. But he was not, like his father, in sympathy with Europe; he was, like Nicholas, a Russian, an Orthodox, and an enemy to Western ideas. He first chose councillors from among those who hated the West: Katkoff, the head of the nationalist party, Pobiédonostsef, proctor of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church, and General Ignatieff. He announced his "faith in the strength and truth of autocratic power," said he

was "called to strengthen and defend the nation's welfare against attack" (manifesto of May 11). And in truth Alexander III. maintained throughout his reign the autocratic system of his grandfather Nicholas. But, unlike Nicholas, he preserved peace with other nations. Ignatieff, who favoured an aggressive policy in Europe, was dismissed in 1882. The Tsar retained only the absolutists, Katkoff and Pobiédonostsef; he recalled Count Tolstoï, who had made himself so famous by his struggle against modern science. As soon as Alexander III. declared his autocratic intentions, the Terrorists reopened their campaign. They prepared an attack for the coronation day at Moscow, but the police discovered it. The Terrorists were few in number and were finally exterminated about 1884. Since then we have read in foreign papers that the police continue to guard the Tsar, and that there have been several unsuccessful attempts and arrests, some, it is said, among the army officers; but we do not know whether the revolutionary party is still organized; the government, if it knows, keeps silence.

The Russian government restored the system of Nicholas I. and laboured to destroy the work of Alexander II. It kept a sharp eye on all institutions through which there was danger of European ideas entering Russia—the press, the schools and colleges, and the local assemblies. The censorship of country papers was so applied as to prevent the publication not only of criticisms, but even of information disagreeable to officials, such as fires, robberies, and deaths. As for the papers in the capitals, the system of warnings reduced them to hardly more than official organs. The organs of the autocratic party alone were permitted freedom of speech, so that to the outside world Russian opinion seemed represented by Katkoff, the enemy of the West and especially of republican France.

A special censorship examined foreign books and newspapers, either excluding them or permitting their entrance only after striking out passages considered dangerous for Russian readers. This operation, performed with an ink-covered roller, was familiarly known as "Knocking out the caviar."

The government tried to develop religious education by creating primary schools, directed by the *popes*. It also tried to exterminate the dissenting religions of the west by converting to Orthodoxy the Lutheran peasants of the Baltic provinces and the Catholic peasants of Poland. It persecuted the religious sect of *Stundists*.

In the universities a number of liberal professors were dismissed or silenced, and the students, always suspected of revolutionary ideas, were subjected to continual supervision, which seems to have provoked frequent trouble, from 1884 to 1890. In Russia, the universities are, as in Europe during the Middle Ages, frequented chiefly by poor young men, sons of *popes*, lower officials, and small Jewish merchants. This intellectual proletariat disturbed the government. The report of the conspiracy of 1887 showed, among the compromised, the names of professors and students of the lower classes. A circular was issued forbidding secondary schools and universities to receive the children of workingmen and domestic servants.

The elective justices of the peace, established by Alexander II., were suppressed. In the rural districts they were replaced in 1889 by new officials, chiefs of the canton, appointed by the government exclusively from the nobility. These officials were charged not only with the administration of justice, but with the appointment and dismissal of the chiefs of the villages, and with the supervision of the village councils. The peasants were thus made subject to the nobles.

No opposition could now be made by lawful methods; but the foreign papers often announced the discovery of plots, secret printing houses, and political societies; they reproduced proclamations issued by the revolutionists, petitions to the Tsar pointing out abuses of power by officials, and protests against the treatment given to political convicts.

Alexander III.'s reign was a period of economic transformation. Financial embarrassment had followed the war of 1877, the settlement of claims under the emancipation of the serfs, and the grain famine. The budget showed great deficits; the paper money, excessive issues of which caused the gold to be sent abroad, had fallen to one-half of its face value. The acknowledged deficit lasted until 1887, when a new Minister of Finance, Vichnegradzky, a *protégé* of Katkoff, turned the deficit into a surplus. He set up against the German industries a protective tariff that was almost prohibitive. He paid the Russian debt, placed partly in Germany, by means of a series of new loans made in France beginning with 1888; the total of the French capital lent to the Russian government was estimated at one or one and a half billion dollars. According to official statistics the revenues of the government increased between 1881 and 1891 from 650,-

000,000 to 891,000,000 rubles, railroad traffic from 42,000,000 tons in 1885 to 67,000,000 in 1890.

Russification.—The attempt at enforced Russification of the western provinces had begun under Nicholas I. Alexander II. at first confined himself to the Polish provinces which threatened to form an independent nation; he seemed to have decided to respect the language and religion of the peoples that asked only for self-government. He put a stop to Nicholas' project of Russification in the Baltic provinces. In Finland he convoked in 1863, for the first time since the conquest, the Diet of the four estates, in order to vote a new tax system. They spoke four languages, the Russian governor in Russian, the nobles and clergy in French, the middle class in Swedish, the peasants in Finnish. But the Slavic party, which had become supreme, finally entangled the Tsar in the struggle against foreign languages and religions.* As early as 1867 the Baltic provinces were ordered to enforce the *Ukase* of 1850, making Russian compulsory. The assemblies of the three provinces protested, invoking the Tsars' promise to maintain their rights, including "the use of German in government and city offices and in the courts." The government replied that the Tsars, while confirming the rights of the Baltic provinces, added the clause "in so far as they are consistent with the general institutions and laws of our Empire," and that the use of a separate language was contrary to the "principles of unity" (1867-70). In reality the measure was not enforced.

Under Alexander III. the government once more attempted Russification. In 1885 the three Baltic governments were ordered to write their communications in Russian. The city councils of Riga and Revel refused, and were prosecuted. The secondary schools were ordered to give Russian the first place in education. The postal system demanded addresses in Russian. At the same time measures were resumed against the Lutheran religion. Children born of a mixed marriage must be brought up in the Orthodox Church. Lutheran peasants, who had been converted to Orthodoxy by the promises of the government and wished to return to their primitive religion, were arrested, and the pastors

*The persecution was extended to the Russian dialects. A popular literature in Lesser-Russian dialect had been built up in the Ukraine. The Russian Government in 1876 forbade the printing of any original work in Lesser-Russian, also the acting, reciting, or singing of any piece in that dialect.

who had performed a religious act for them were prosecuted for attempting to convert an Orthodox believer. To the protests of the Lutheran clergy Pobiédonostsef replied: "Russia's first duty is to protect the Orthodox faith against inward doubts and outward attacks. . . The religions of the West have not yet given up attacking the integrity of the Empire. Russia cannot let them tempt her Orthodox sons." Radical measures were taken at length: orders were given in 1889 to the German schools to adopt the Russian language, orders to replace German with Russian on signboards, and to use Russian alone in all public business. Russian judges replaced the German judges. The University of Dorpat, the centre of intellectual activity in the Baltic provinces, was Russianized. In 1890 it received orders to conduct its courses in Russian.

Meanwhile the government was endeavouring to drive out the Jews. These numbered about 5,000,000, mainly in the western provinces, the former Kingdom of Poland. They had preserved not only their religion, which was still very formal, but also their costume, customs, and language—the latter a German jargon full of Hebraisms. First they were forbidden to enter the liquor trade or to acquire land (1882). The people, excited against the Jews, plundered and burned their houses. To keep the Jews out of the liberal professions, a limit was set to the number of Israelites who could be admitted to the secondary schools and universities, reducing the number from 10 per cent. of the whole to 3 per cent. In 1890 a general measure was adopted. All Jews remaining in the interior of Russia were to emigrate to the western provinces, and in the districts where they were concentrated they were forbidden to own or lease lands, and were forced to remain in the cities, where all the liberal professions were closed to them. In 1891 the Jewish workmen of Moscow were arrested and taken away by soldiers. There were peasant outbreaks against the Jews, and some 300,000 Jews left the country.

The Grand Duchy of Finland was the last country reached by Russification. Alexander II. had continued to convoke the Diet every five years, Alexander III. every three years. The Diet came into conflict with the government over the law establishing the censorship of the press. The Diet refused to pass it and the government imposed it by administrative means, in 1867, in connection with certain changes relating to the schools and the revenue.

But Finland retained her Swedish administration and reorgan-

ized her bank in 1867, her courts in 1868, her church in 1869, her railroads and her schools in 1872, her communal system in 1873, her militia in 1878, her law of civil rights and her poor relief. A *Finnish* party was formed, which gained from the government the establishment of Finnish as an official language, on an equality with Swedish. In 1890 Finland's economic home rule, in relation to money, customs, and transportation, seemed to be threatened; a plan was also made to reform the Finnish penal code on the Russian model. The Diet of 1891 protested against this policy, and the Tsar left to Finland her self-government.

Tsar Nicholas II.—The death of Alexander III. in November, 1894, made no change in Russia's domestic system. His son Nicholas II. has several times declared his desire to continue his father's policy. He said to the delegates from the nobility and cities, in January, 1895: "Let it be known that I shall maintain the autocratic system as firmly as my immortal father." He considered it an "absurd dream" that the "*Zemstvos* could take part in affairs of state." A petition from writers and journalists for the amelioration of the press laws was rejected. Pobiédonostsef remains at the head of the government, in full possession of his influence, and it is said that the decisive argument in the administration of affairs is: "This is how it was done in the time of the late Tsar."

The principal undertaking seems to have been the series of financial operations designed to procure for Russia the quantity of gold necessary for restoring the value of the ruble. The only domestic event has been the coronation ceremony at Moscow in 1896, in which several thousand bystanders were crushed, through the negligence of the police. The masses in memory of the victims of this catastrophe were made the occasion of a great demonstration by the students in Moscow. This was followed by repressive measures. The report to the government on this incident seems to indicate an extensive liberal movement.

In spite of the official declarations and the acts of the government, there is a general impression that the system is nearing a change. The Tsarina, who hitherto has taken no part in public affairs, is a German princess accustomed to Western life, and the purposes which are attributed to the Tsar himself indicate that he does not believe the autocratic system likely to be a lasting one.

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2. Liberal period of Alexander II.: **Wallace,** "Russia," 2 vols., 1879, trans. into Fr., observations of an Englishman on the working of the new institutions.—**Anat. Leroy-Beaulieu,** "L'Empire des Tsars," 3 vols., 1881–89.

3. Period of Reaction: **Tikhomirov,** "Russie Politique et Sociale," 1886; rich in facts, the work of a revolutionist, later converted.—**Stepniak,** "La Russie Souterraine," 1885, "La Russie sous les Tsars," 2 vols., 1885, "The Russian Peasantry," 1888; the author, whose real name was Kraftchewsky, was an exiled revolutionist. The most instructive romances on Russian life are **Gogol's** "Dead Souls" and **Tourguenef's** novels already mentioned.

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CHAPTER XX.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.*

The Ottoman Empire in 1814.—The Ottoman Empire, founded of old by the family of Ottoman Sultans, whose name it bears, was an absolute military monarchy, established in Asia, and extended by conquest through a whole region of Europe.

Its territory, even after the losses of the eighteenth century, was still very large; it comprised the whole of Asia Minor, as far as Persia, Syria, Egypt; and in Europe the whole of the Balkan Peninsula as far as Austria and Russia. But its government remained an Oriental, Mussulman despotism, which estranged it more and more from Christian Europe, where the liberal form of government was steadily gaining ground. The Ottoman government also has lived through this century in a constant alternation of crises and attempts at reform.

Like all despotic Oriental states, the Empire had no institution working according to law. The central government was in the hands of a confused combination of the personal will of the Sultan or his favourites, orders from his lieutenant, the *Grand Vizier*, and decisions from the *Divan*, a council of high dignitaries. The army was mainly composed of *janissaries*, stationed in or about Constantinople. These were hereditary soldiers, who were poor fighters, lacking in discipline, and even at times revolting against their master (they had already deposed two Sultans, 1807-08). Finances were but rudely organized, without a budget (the Sultan drew from the treasury at will). There was neither ledger nor audit: the papers were kept in sacks. There was no regular assessment nor systematic collection of taxes. The poll-tax

* This chapter is short; the Asiatic provinces are outside the field of a history of Europe; the interference of European powers in the Eastern question is treated in the chapters on inter-state relations. The history of the independence of the Balkan Christians it has seemed to me best to put in the chapter upon those peoples. There remains here, therefore, only the history of the government of the Sultans in Europe, and their attempts at reform.

(Kharadj) upon all male subjects who were not Mussulmans, the rents on the domain, and the taxes on transportation were farmed out to undertakers who exacted more than their due. Provincial administration was not much more than authorized extortion; the governors took the province at auction, and the officials, receiving no pay, besides being left without supervision, oppressed and tyrannized over the inhabitants.

Being a Mussulman government, the Empire encountered special difficulties in Europe. The Sultan was Caliph, Commander of the Faithful; the Koran was the law—not only religious law, but civil and political as well—for all Mussulmans. It confused the Church and state, allowing the Church to make the laws of the state. The civil power forbade all Mussulmans, under pain of death, to be converted to any other religion. The real Ottoman people comprised only Mussulmans. It was not a nation in the ethnological sense, not even a group united by common language or customs like the nations of Europe. The nationalities that went over to Islam were admitted to equality with their conquerers, even when they retained their own language and national dress. The popular expressions, Turkey, Turkish Empire, are accurate neither politically, for all Mussulmans are *Ottomans*, nor ethnographically, for in *European Turkey*, except about Constantinople, the Mussulman population is not Turkish. (Even in Asiatic Turkey it is a mixture of Turks and converted peoples, Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians.) There are Croats in Bosnia, Albanians in Epirus, Bulgarians (Pomaks) in Macedonia, and Greeks in the islands. Among all these Mussulmans the government made no distinction either in theory or in practice, rank and office being open to all alike. The Mussulman Empire was a truly democratic monarchy.

But as the Mussulmans, unlike the Christians of the Middle Ages, tolerated non-Mussulmans merely as social inferiors, the population in almost all the European provinces found itself composed of two layers, one placed over the other. The old inhabitants, who were still Christians and had become *raïas* (flocks), strangers in the Ottoman state, could not, in principle, either enter the army or any office. The government tolerated them, but shut them out from political life and made money out of them by means of the *Kharadj*. The Mussulmans formed a democracy among themselves, but an aristocracy with regard to the *raïas*. Ottoman society, democratic by its social system, had become aristocratic by its religion. It comprised two classes,

one excluded from political rights, the other in exclusive possession of the power, classes which were necessarily unequal and hostile to each other and unable to blend, because separated by religious hatred. Political inequality had produced social inequality; everywhere the Mussulmans were property holders and lords, the Christians tenants and subjects.

The Christians, in order to defend themselves against the Mussulmans, had secured from the Sultans promises of guarantees for their religion, that is to say, for their clergy and churches. Each Christian society (and the Jews as well) had formed a religious community of sufficiently strong construction to become an actual administrative district. The Ottoman government favoured this organization as facilitating communication with its subjects. In every community the leaders of the clergy, patriarch, metropolitans, bishops,* official representatives of their flocks and responsible to the government, had become the civil authorities, who judged, governed, and in some cases tyrannized over their followers.

In behalf of foreign Christians who had come from Europe, a number of states had at first secured the appointment of consuls as the political heads of their nationalities. Then the Sultan had allowed the protection of foreign consuls to be extended to a part of his Christian subjects. France had acquired the official right of protecting Catholics (who were especially numerous in Asia), Russia secured the right of protecting Orthodox worshippers, which included nearly all the Christians in European Turkey. Thus two European governments were enabled to interfere in the internal affairs of the Empire.

The Sultan, being a Mussulman, could not join the Christian sovereigns of Europe; his states remained outside of Christian international law; he had forced his entrance as an intruder and ran the risk of being expelled by force.

The Empire was thus not only weakened by the lack of organization of its military forces, but its weakness extended especially to its religious constitution. It governed, not a nation, but a group of nations, superposed and irreconcilable, the majority hostile to the very principle of the state, the Mussulman religion. The Christians, the natural enemies of the state, remained organized in national bodies, ready for revolt; they were officially pro-

* In the ancient Byzantine Empire, where each city had its bishop, the Metropolitan, whose title corresponds to that of archbishop in the West, had only a small province.

tected by a great European government which was hostile to the Empire, and free from the restraints of international law.

The Empire, threatened in the eighteenth century by the Austro-Russian coalition, which had already arranged to divide it between them, was saved by the wars between the European powers, which diverted the attention of its Western enemies, and, by the establishment of the English in India, which gave England a direct interest in shutting out the other powers from the road to India. In addition to France, his old ally, the Sultan could count on defence from England, which had become his ally during the Egyptian campaign; Austria, his former enemy, was now busied with Italy and Germany. Russia alone remained hostile, and yet she had abandoned the Empress Catherine's dream of conquering and dismembering Turkey.

Crisis of the Greek Insurrection (1820-27).—When peace was restored in Europe, the *Eastern question* (as it was now called) began to be discussed: What is to become of the Ottoman Empire? The question was subdivided into two: 1. Will the Empire be maintained or dismembered? 2. Are the Sultan's Christian subjects to remain *raïas* or be organized as a nation? Of these two questions the diplomatists, accustomed to consider only the sovereigns, seemed to perceive the first alone. The second slowly commanded attention in spite of the diplomatists. The Greeks and Servians had already urged it on the Congress of Vienna, by demanding a national administration; their petitions had been rejected.

The Ottoman Empire, since 1814, has lived in almost constant agitation, insurrections by the subjects, revolts of the pashas, invasions, negotiations with the European powers, not to mention intrigues in the seraglio. The first great crisis was produced by the Greek insurrection (1820). But, as there were Greeks scattered all over the Empire, they did not at first know distinctly in what part they should begin the revolt, and they made the attempt simultaneously in Epirus, Roumania, and Greece (see p. 650).

In Roumania the uprising was the work of a secret society, an *hetairia*, founded at Odessa, following out the rites prescribed by the secret societies of the period, with secret leaders, several degrees of initiation, a cipher, and a symbolic black flag bearing a phœnix; they talked of restoring the Greek Empire by the aid of Tsar Alexander. The leaders had decided to stir up revolt in Morea; but Ypsilanti, who had friends in Moldavia, preferred to

issue his proclamation at Jassy.* The Roumans were little interested in a Greek rebellion; they left Ypsilanti alone with his "sacred battalion," which was driven into Austria (1821). Karavias surprised the city of Galatz, pillaged the mosques, massacred the garrison and the Mussulmans.

In the Greek countries the revolt was general and accompanied by massacres (see p. 651). It excited such sharp irritation among the Mussulmans that the Sultan had the Greek patriarch hanged, together with three archbishops in their priestly robes, at the gate of the Greek Church, on Easter Sunday. Then, the Greeks of Samos having tried to incite revolt in Chios, the Turks sent an expedition to the latter island. They promised an amnesty, but massacred or enslaved that peaceful people† (1823). This execution and massacre prejudiced Europe against the Turks. The powers were, however, slow in beginning their intervention.

The Sultan asked help from the pasha of Egypt, Mehemet-Ali, who was officially his subject, and who sent him an army under his own son Ibrahim. Greece was invaded and conquered, but saved by the intervention of the European powers, who sent their fleets to Morea (1827) to enforce the departure of Ibrahim, and especially by the Russian invasion of the Ottoman Empire (1828-29). The entrance of the Russian army into Adrianople decided the Sultan to ask for peace. He recognised the independence of the new kingdom of Greece (1829). Since 1820 he had allowed a Servian Christian, Miloch, to become hereditary prince of the Servians in the province of Belgrade (see p. 658). This was the first break in the Ottoman Empire.

In order to make peace with the Tsar (September, 1829) the Sultan promised to open to foreign commerce the straits which gave access to the Black Sea (Bosporus and Dardanelles); he undertook to destroy all his fortifications on the left bank of the Danube, which meant the military abandonment of the whole of Roumania; he promised to reimburse Russia for its expenses in

* This proclamation is full of classic references: "Let us place ourselves between Marathon and Thermopylæ. . . . The blood of tyrants will be an agreeable expiation to the souls of Epaminondas, Thrasybulus, Miltiades, and Leonidas. The Turks, these effeminate descendants of Darius and Xerxes, will be much easier to conquer than the Persians of old times."

† I pass rapidly over these events, which though highly picturesque and dramatic, and celebrated by the greatest poets of the century, are of little political importance. On the independence of Greece, see p. 652; on the intervention of Europe, see chap. xxv.

the war, which made him dependent on the Russian government, for he had no money and, as time went on, he was obliged to replace his payments by political concessions.

Mahmoud's Reforms (1826-38).—Mahmoud, who had been Sultan since 1808, wished, like Peter the Great, to reform his empire on the European model. This admiration for Europe had been handed down to him, it was said, by his uncle Selim (1788-1807), who had fallen a victim to it, for he was deposed for having wished to reform the janissaries.

Mahmoud began with the army. During the war with Greece he announced (May, 1826) the formation of a troop to be trained by Arabs. He proposed, not to introduce new schemes, but to restore the ancient Ottoman tradition (Solyman's regulations), which had been unduly abandoned. He ordered the janissaries to furnish some of the men for his new army. The janissaries mutinied. Mahmoud, supported by other bodies, ordered a discharge of cannon on the janissaries' barracks, at the same time, it is said, ordering the back gates to be opened as a means of escape. The most unruly of them were massacred, and the Sultan declared the janissaries abolished (1826). Later he abolished the other ancient bodies of *spahis* and armorers.

A new army was then formed, with European dress and discipline, numbering 70,000 men. A Prussian officer, von Moltke, who later became so famous, had an active part in this organization, and has given a satirical description of it in his Letters: "The reform consisted chiefly in externals, names, and trappings. The army was built on the European plan, with Russian tunics, a French code, Belgian guns, Turkish turbans, Hungarian saddles, English sabres, drill-sergeants of every nation, an army composed of *timariotes*, of soldiers for life, of a *landwehr* without fixed terms of service, in which the leaders were recruits, and the recruits enemies of the day before."

Mahmoud also aspired, like Peter the Great, to reform the manners of his empire on the European model. He drank wine, in spite of the Koran, and liked to see his high officials tipsy. He dressed like an Egyptian, in short clothes, with a short-cut beard, and settled the cut and material of the clothing of his courtiers. He even made an ordinance (1837) on the length of the mustache, and ordered, contrary to custom, that the beard should be cut an inch from the chin.

Mahmoud broke up that sort of official aristocracy which, at the court and in the provinces, was beginning to form a class

of hereditary office-holders. He disturbed the Divan by introducing the custom of deciding matters with each minister individually. He intimidated the body of *ulemas* (at once theologians and judges) to prevent its making any open opposition to his reforms. But for the reconstruction of regular institutions he could not find sufficiently well-educated helpers among the Mussulmans * and he could not avail himself of the services of Europeans, who were despised as Christians. He did not succeed in reforming the financial system. His imitation of Europe was only superficial and had no effect, except on the army.

Crisis of the Egyptian Conflict (1833-40).—While these reforms were on foot, the Ottoman Empire underwent a new crisis. Mehemet-Ali, governor of Egypt, after aiding the Sultan against the Greeks, had become embroiled with the Ottoman government, headed by the grand vizier Chosrew Pasha, his personal enemy.

Mehemet claimed first of all the government of Syria, which the Sultan had promised him in return for his assistance. After waiting three years he determined to occupy it by force (1831), while still acknowledging himself subject to the Sultan, to whom he offered a large sum of money, at the same time demanding investiture. His enemies at court, however, persuaded Mahmoud to declare him a rebel. Then his army, which was in control of Syria, invaded Asia Minor and marched on Constantinople. Mahmoud became alarmed and asked help from the Tsar, who, as protector of the Ottoman Empire, sent 15,000 Russians to camp before Constantinople and defend it. In exchange he secured the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi (1833), which, under guise of an alliance, established a Russian protectorate. Russia promised to bring aid to the Sultan, who in return opened the straits to the Russian navy. France, which supported Mehemet-Ali, secured for him a grant of the government of Syria.

* "It is almost impossible," says von Moltke, "for a European to realize the state of Eastern intelligence. . . A Turk who can read and write poses as a scholar." He tells how one of the best educated dignitaries could not believe that the earth was round. No one, with the exception of the Christian renegades, speaks a foreign language. For the rest, von Moltke recognises the progress in their manners. "That the Sultan has dared to dismiss a man like Chosrew, who has raised 32 of his slaves to the rank of pasha, without bringing his head to the block, is a proof of Turkish progress, for that would formerly have been impossible" (1836). It was also a mark of progress that when the Sultan's daughter brought a son into the world the child was not strangled; it was simply announced that he had died a natural death, as has been done ever since in like cases.

Mehemet represented himself always as a faithful servant of the Sultan,* who wished not to destroy the Ottoman Empire, but to consolidate it by dismissing the bad ministers and taking their place in the master's favour. In the East, as formerly in Europe, resistance to the sovereign's agents did not mean revolt against the sovereign. But the European powers regarded the question differently; they looked upon Mehemet as an independent sovereign, the Sultan's rival, and an enemy to the Ottoman Empire. They prepared to stop him.

After the death of Mahmoud, Chosrew, on his return from an expedition against the Kurds, thought himself strong enough to take back Syria from Mehemet, but his army was put to rout (1839). This was a renewal of the war of 1833. The Egyptian army crossed Asia Minor and marched on Constantinople. But this time the English government interfered, and induced the other powers, against the wish of France, to impose terms of peace upon Mehemet and even insist upon his resigning Syria (1840). Then, to deprive Russia of her monopoly in protecting the Sultan, it secured the Straits Convention (1841), which closed the two straits to all European fleets.

The crisis had effected the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire.

The Reforms of Reschid Pasha (1838-50).—Mahmoud died before the Egyptian crisis was over (1838). His successor, Abdul-Medjid, left the government to his ministers. The head minister, Reschid Pasha, had formerly been ambassador to England and had learned there the force of public opinion. He tried to introduce European institutions, and, to win favour in Europe, he had them announced by a solemn act copied from the European charters.

The *hatti-sherif* of November 3, 1839, was promulgated at Guhlane (one of the Sultan's gardens), in the presence of great dignitaries, deputies from the *raïa* peoples (Greeks, Armenians,

* According to Prokesch-Osten, an Austrian diplomat, Mehemet said as early as 1829 to an English agent who had come to offer him a chance to make himself independent: "You are a stranger, you do not know a Mussulman's way of thinking. . . Do you know what the breaking up of the Empire would mean to me? Every Mussulman would start from me with horror, my own son would be the first to desert me. The Sultan is insane, but God has given him to us for our sins." In 1833 he is said to have remarked to Europeans in Alexandria: "I wish to remain the Sultan's servant. . . Ibrahim, if he reached the Bosporus, would throw himself at the Sultan's feet, ask his pardon and permission to return to Egypt."

Catholics, Jews), and the European diplomatic corps, with a solemn ceremonial, a salute of 101 guns, a prayer, and an astrologer to watch the propitious moment for the reading. The *hatti-sherif* was a sort of constitutional charter, given by the Sultan to his subjects, to all his subjects without religious distinction. The Sultan commended old customs, declared that trouble had come from abandoning them, and so proclaimed new institutions. This contradiction was inherent in the situation of a reformer among a people atttached to religious tradition. These national institutions were to guarantee to subjects of every religion security of life, honour, and fortune. The Sultan promised to abolish tax-farming, confiscation, and monopolies.

Recognising in the raïas the same private rights that the Mussulmans enjoyed was a revolution. The *hatti-sherif* confined itself, however, to promises. Reschid laboured to introduce its measures into practice. A number of European institutions had already been adopted, lighthouses on the Bosporus, a hospital, and a quarantine; a ministerial council had been established to make the central government more regular. Reschid tried to reform the financial system. By means of commercial treaties he got the European governments to renounce the maximum tariff which had formerly been stipulated, and in return he abolished the complicated system of variable rates of internal transportation, replacing it with a single tariff of 9 per cent. on foreign merchandise. This facilitated trade with Europe. Within the Empire he abolished tax-farming, and ordered that the poll tax should be apportioned and levied by districts and paid over to receivers.

These reforms irritated the Mussulmans, who favoured the old *régime*, the "Old Turk" party, who sought to turn the Sultan against his ministry. Abdul-Medjid wavered between the Old Turks and the reformers. This contest was complicated by a struggle for influence between the two rival European powers, England and Russia, which had each its special party in the Sultan's court. Reschid supported England, Riza supported Russia. Several times Reschid was dismissed, then recalled. Riza also attempted a number of reforms. While Reschid and Riza were contending, the officials, left to their own devices, restored the old system of tax-farming and collection by military governors.

Reschid had regard for the good opinion of Europe, especially of England. "I agree," he said in 1846, "that our government

is still far from good. But we prevent its being worse." Abdul-Medjid himself seemed to be interested in reforms. He read in public a decree, drawn up by his own hand, in which he declared himself very regretful that his projects had not produced the desired result and announced the establishment of schools to instil in his subjects the principles of science and industry (1845).

These confused reforms, interrupted by reactions—these creations which, for the most part, remained only promises—did not lead to a very profound reorganization of the Empire. The only lasting institution was the army, recruited by the European system of conscription. It was divided into two parts, the active army (*Nizam*), with a five-year service, and the reserve (*Redif*), with a seven-year term, organized in five local army corps, and supplied with European arms. As before it was composed only of Mussulmans. It was an army of good soldiers, brave and steady, but commanded by incompetent officers.

Reschid decreed a complete reorganization of the administration. The hitherto general power of the governor of the province was divided among three distinct officials, a military governor, a civil administrator (*vali*), and a receiver of taxes. Thus were established three services, each with a minister at its head, as in Europe. Reschid had hoped to make the *vali* the principal officer by putting the police under his control, and tried to control him by establishing provincial councils of notables; but these councils hindered reform. Judicial reorganization was confined to a number of mixed courts, composed of Mussulmans and Europeans, with a written procedure. Financial reform was abandoned for lack of honest agents, and taxes and customs duties were again farmed out. The state schools which had been announced were not established. The bank which Reschid had attempted to found was replaced by the *Ottoman Bank*, managed by Europeans.

This was, however, a period of relative prosperity and peace (except for the insurrection of the Christians in Crete in 1841). The government became less harsh, and torture and confiscation disappeared.

Period of the Crimean War (1852-59).—The attempt at reorganization on the European model had given the European governments the hope of settling the Eastern Question by the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a modern state. Tsar Nicholas, however, did not accept this solution. As early as

1844, in his visit to England, he had said: "There are in my Cabinet two opinions on Turkey; one that she is dying, the other that she is already dead. In either case nothing will prevent her speedy end." In 1852 he said to the English ambassador that "they ought to agree about the funeral." The English government preferred to maintain the Ottoman Empire by checking the Tsar, and succeeded in forming a league with Napoleon III. and the King of Sardinia. (See chap. xxvii.)

The conflict was complicated by the quarrel between the Catholic monks, who were under France's protection, and the Greek monks, who were under that of Russia. They were disputing over the possession of the keys of the Holy Places in Palestine (Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre). After long negotiation the Tsar brought his army into Moldavia, declaring that he came to protect the Orthodox Church. This was the beginning of the war (for the history of it, see chap. xxvii.). But the European armies defended the Ottoman Empire and carried the war into the Crimea.

At the Congress of Paris (1856) the European powers, considering the Empire necessary to the balance of power, declared the integrity of Ottoman territory guaranteed; but in return they imposed on the Sultan certain concessions.

Napoleon secured autonomy for Moldavia and Walachia. This was the second break in the Empire.

Even in the interior of the Empire the powers, which had hitherto had confidence in the credit of the Ottoman government, demanded pledges for the making of various long-promised reforms. The Sultan promulgated a reform edict (*hatti-humayoun*, February, 1856) and communicated it to the other governments, who replied: "The contracting powers appreciate the high value of this communication. It is well understood that it could not in any case give the said powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of the Empire."

The *hatti-humayoun* did not proclaim the principle of personal security simply, as in 1839, but also of liberty and legal equality for all Ottoman subjects without distinction of religion. All legal difference between Mussulmans and Christians was suppressed. Christians should be admitted to every military rank and to every office, they should no longer pay the poll-tax, they should be represented in the provincial councils. The Ottoman

Empire would thereby lose its religious character. But the full promise could not be secured. The English government wished to have the death penalty abolished in the case of a Mussulman converted to another religion. European indignation was aroused by the case of a young Christian who had become a Mussulman in a moment of anger and was later put to death on reverting to his own religion. The Ottoman government replied that it could give its word that the penalty would not be enforced again, but that to proclaim it in a public act would provoke an outburst of fanaticism. England had to be content with an ambiguous article. "All religious creeds shall be freely practised; no Ottoman subject shall be hindered or disturbed in the exercise of his religion, or constrained to change it."

Attempts at Reform, Fuad and Ali (1859-71).—The *hatti-humayoun* promised radical reform, a lay state, in which Christians would be protected by law; but as the Mussulman system gave them no protection, to make them equal with Mussulmans would have involved a struggle which the Ottoman government dared not face. On the other hand, the European powers had acted upon this promise and kept watch over the government to insist upon its being kept. The Sultan found himself in a tight place, between his subjects, who did not want the reform, and the foreign powers, who insisted upon it.

The Christian subjects themselves distrusted the reform. Their leaders, patriarchs and bishops, were fearful of losing their power over the faithful, for the government, after declaring all its subjects equal, had drawn from that the conclusion that the privileges of religious communities must be abolished, or at least revised. The Christians held to their privileges; a common system represented to their minds simply the absence of special protection, and that meant to be given defenceless into the hands of the Mussulmans. They were unwilling to serve in the army, preferring to make a money payment; the poll-tax was restored in the form of a tax for exemption from military service.

The Mussulmans, accustomed to despise unbelievers, were unwilling to obey them, either as military or civil officers. The government announced a judicial reform. Justice was to be separated from the administration, and administered by mixed courts chosen by notables, where Christians would be allowed to testify as well as Mussulmans, where judgment would be based on modern codes, with public sittings and a regular procedure. All Turkey knew that this reform could not be applied. It was

not applied, and the Christian mountaineers of Herzegovina, supported by their neighbours in Montenegro, finally revolted; * an army had to be sent to subdue them (1860-61).

The governments of Europe officially expressed their regret that the Ottoman Empire "was not proceeding to a gradual and sustained application of reforms" (1859), and Russia proposed an investigation into the condition of the Christians. But their attention was either distracted by Italian affairs or absorbed by the massacre of Christians in Libanus. In 1861 Abdul-Medjid died, and the new Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, left the government to Fuad and Ali, two favourites, acknowledged reformers. Their sway, however, was at times interrupted. (It was said that once he offered the government to a dancing dervish.)

The leading reform was an attempt to keep the promise made in 1856 by separating justice from the general administration (1864). In each of the administrative subdivisions, *vilayet* (government), *sandjak* (department), *kaza* (district), a tribunal and council of notables were established, naturally composed chiefly of Mussulmans, for the lists were prepared by Mussulmans.

In Crete, where the population is mainly Greek and Christian, and partly composed of armed mountaineers, the discontent took the form of a general insurrection (there had already been one in 1841). The Greek patriots in the Kingdom of Greece laboured to bring back Crete into the Hellenic union. A Cretan committee established at Athens kept in touch with the people of the island. In 1866 the Christians formed a committee, which presented a petition to the Sultan, denouncing the abuse of power by the governors and Mussulmans, and claiming personal and property rights. The government refused to do them justice, and the whole Christian population rose in revolt (May, 1866). The general assembly of Cretans decreed Ottoman rule abolished and Crete "united indissolubly to her mother, Greece" (September). The insurgents occupied the whole island, except the strongholds in the north, where the Mussulmans had taken refuge. Arms and volunteers came from Greece to aid them, but the European powers, whose help they asked, refused to inter-

* The petition sent by the Christians to the European consuls at Mostar shows their usual grievances: "We want permission to build churches, to place bells in them and ring them, we want a bishop of our own race to direct our religious affairs, we want schools, we want to have taxes established in a fixed sum for each house, and we do not want to have Zaptiehs (gendarmes) lodged in our houses."

vene. When the Turkish army, of 30,000 men at the least, took the offensive (October, 1866), the insurgents were quickly driven back into the mountains, where the people of Sphakia held out until 1868. The Greeks in Epirus and Thessaly attempted a revolt, but failed.

The investigation made by the powers, in 1867, showed that the equality promised in 1856 had not been realized. The admission of Christians to office was imaginary; they were accepted only in subordinate positions. These officers had no influence, and were detested by the Christians of other creeds. Mixed courts were very rare, and besides Christians had not the courage to sit in them. A Christian could not obtain justice against a Mussulman, as his testimony was not listened to; the only way for him to get justice done him was to bribe two Mussulman witnesses. In the army the Christians were unwilling to serve with Mussulmans and the Mussulmans were unwilling to obey unbelievers; the army therefore remained Mussulman. Public procedure in the courts remained a figment of the imagination, for police guarded the entrance to the hall. The prisons were horrible, and the police (*zaptiehs*) were recruited from the criminal classes. The tax-farming which the reformers had worked so hard to abolish had been restored; the budget was illusory, control of the Court of Accounts amounted to nothing, "boodlers" were not prosecuted, the Supreme Council of Justice had met only once. The only institutions that were respected were the privileges of religious communities, and the powers of patriarchs, including their abuse of power, because these were old institutions.

Europe accordingly protested against the failure to execute the *hatti-humayoun* of 1856. A struggle for influence ensued between France and Russia, to determine what reforms should be made. France proposed the *fusion* of races, that is, to suppress all "distinction between the various nationalities," to establish civil equality and uniform administration as in France, so as to form a single Ottoman nation. Russia had already declared herself opposed to an "incoherent fusion of the Ottoman peoples"; she demanded for each "special guarantees based on religious and communal institutions adapted to the nationalist principle." "Equality before the law will never be realized in Turkey so long as Turks are Turks; that is, until they forswear the Koran, which traces an ineffaceable line between them and the Christians." Russia's advice was to "separate Christian and Mussul-

man interests by granting parallel and progressive development to all nationalities and creeds under the Sultan, in accordance with the exigencies of European balance of power"; this meant to make every Christian nationality a little self-governing state. France's advice was that of a friend, kindly but impracticable; Russia's scheme was practicable but dangerous, for the autonomy of hostile races was the same as dismemberment.

The Ottoman government at first followed France's advice; it attempted fusion and tried to improve its administrative staff by giving its young men a European education. The French College of Galata, a suburb of Constantinople, was founded at this time. But the two reform ministers died, Fuad in 1869, Ali in 1871. The defeat of France by Germany put an end to her influence over the Sultan, and destroyed the European concert which was protecting the Ottoman Empire against Russia.

Financial Crisis and Young Turkey (1871-76).—After 1871 the disorder increased. The deficit became so large (112,000,000 in 1875) and money so scarce that the government became partially bankrupt. It declared itself able to pay only a half of the interest on the debt. Taxes grew heavier and discontent increased, until at length the Christian Serbs in Herzegovina, excited by their Montenegrin neighbours, and possibly by emissaries from Servia and Russia, refused to perform the corvée and rose in rebellion (1875). The European powers, being busy at the time with their own domestic affairs, took little interest in the Ottoman Empire.

The Turkish government, to calm the malcontents, issued a new reform edict (1875), once more announcing the admission of all subjects to office, abolition of tax-farming, judicial reorganization, and a council to supervise the execution of the reforms. But the states of Europe had lost their faith in promises. They replied with a collective note, named after Andrassy, the Austrian minister: "The powers feel that there exists a strict unity of interest between Europe and Turkey and the insurgents; they hold that reform must be adopted to put a stop to a disastrous and bloody contest" (December 30, 1875). It was therefore necessary "that Christianity should be put on the same footing with Islamism, in theory and practice . . . that tax-farming should be abolished once for all." It was not necessary "that the execution of reforms should be left to the discretion of pashas; a *controlling board* should be established, made up of Christians and Mussulmans." This time the Empire's protectors were not

content with promises; but demanded guarantees and control. The Turkish government refused.

The insurrection in Herzegovina became a real war. Later the Bulgarian peasants, excited by a committee, made a slight attempt at revolt (May, 1876). At the same time, in Salonica, the Mussulman mob assassinated the French and English consuls.

Then came a new sort of crisis in Turkey. For some years there had been increasing dissatisfaction with Sultan Abdul-Aziz and his extravagances. He was said to be insane. Among the Mussulmans, mainly of the younger generation, had sprung up a party, *Young Turkey*, demanding a constitution. As early as 1868 Kereddin held that according to the tradition of Solyman, *ulemas* and ministers had the right to remonstrate with the Sultan, and, if he should persist in violating the law and following out his caprices, the right to depose him. A manifesto issued by Mussulman patriots to the foreign powers (March, 1876) said: "If instead of a despot Turkey possessed a wise monarch who would lean on a consulting Chamber composed of representatives from all our races and religions, she would be saved. That is the true solution, and it is not contrary to the Koran; the Turkish government is elective."

Young Turkey profited by the excitement following the Bulgarian insurrection. The theological students (*softas*) came *en masse* before the palace. The Sultan sent to ask what they wanted. "We want nothing," they said, "but the reigning government is good for nothing." The Sultan was alarmed, immediately dismissed his grand vizier (May 18), then took as his minister one of the leaders of *Young Turkey*, Midhat-Pasha (May 19). This was the minister who made terms with the guardian of the faith, the *Scheik-ul-Islam*, getting from him a decision declaring the Sultan incapable of carrying on the government. Abdul-Aziz was deposed (March 30, 1876), and immediately after it was announced that he had killed himself. His nephew, Mourad V., was proclaimed his successor, but very soon became insane. He was deposed and replaced by Abdul-Hamid (August 31, 1876). Midhat governed in the name of the Sultan.

Midhat had to reply to Europe's demand in behalf of the Christians of Herzegovina, that a commision be sent to make reforms under the supervision of the European consuls. Then he had to fight the Bulgarian insurgents. As the regular army was busy in Herzegovina, bands of irregulars, half brigands (Bashi-

Bazouks), were turned on Bulgaria; they amused themselves with burning the villages, massacring the men, and carrying off the women. (According to the American consul 100 villages were destroyed, from 25,000 to 40,000 inhabitants massacred, and 12,000 women carried away; the English consul reduced these figures to 68 villages and 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants.) Europe rose in horror. The assassination of the consuls at Salonica and the Bulgarian atrocities, as Gladstone called them, completed the turn of public opinion against the Turks. The governments dared not interfere in favour of the Ottoman Empire.

Servia, upheld by Russia, openly entered the war in July, 1876, invoking "Panslavism." The Sultan's government could not pay the interest on even the debt to which it had reduced its creditors. The powers began to regard the Ottoman Empire as a minor incapable of taking care of itself; they determined to take it under their guardianship. They began by imposing on it an armistice with the conquered Servians. They then held a conference at Constantinople and finally drew up the Berlin Memorandum—a schedule of reforms *to be imposed* on the Sultan, England not assenting thereto.

Young Turkey, to avoid this European guardianship, had dreamed of transforming the absolutist empire into a constitutional monarchy. The Ottoman nation, putting an end to the Sultan's arbitrary rule, was to take charge of its own affairs; it would be able at once to reorganize the country and make it needless for foreign powers to interfere. It is hard to tell whether the authors of this scheme really thought the constitutional system would prevent the fall of the Ottoman Empire, or were simply acting out a comedy for the entertainment of Europe, in order to get rid of foreign intervention.

The constitution, drafted in secret by a committee of officials and *ulemas*, was promulgated unexpectedly, but with solemn ceremony, in December, 1876. It was a European form of constitution, with a responsible *Council of Ministers*, a *General Assembly* of two Chambers, a *Senate* and an elective *Chamber of Deputies*, liberty of the press and of public meeting, permanent judges, and even compulsory primary education. Islamism remained the state religion. In laying this constitution before the powers, care was taken to point out its lack of theocratic tendencies, "that it established in the Empire the reign of liberty, justice, and equality, and the triumph of civilization," and above all

that "the constitution was not a promise, but a real and formal act which has become the property of all Ottoman subjects." Consequently, when the powers presented their reform ultimatum, a great council, composed of high officials, replied that these demands were contrary to the constitution (January, 1877).

Russian Invasion, Crisis and Dismemberment (1877-78).—*Young Turkey's* reign was short; Midhat-Pasha, grand-vizier and head of the government, suddenly fell (February, 1877). The Chamber, which was made up principally of Mussulmans, creatures of the governors, served only to reject the demands of Europe. (The deputies were known by a name already old in the East: *Evet Effendim*, the Yes, Sirs.)

Europe had ceased to believe in reforms made by Mussulmans; all, even England, accepted the scheme proposed by Russia, the autonomy of the Christian nationalities and supervision by European agents. The conference of Constantinople (March, 1877) declared that "the powers propose to observe through their ambassadors the manner in which the promises of the government shall be executed," and that "if their hope were again deceived, they would consider measures in common." Europe was abandoning the Ottoman Empire.

Russia took up again the plan arrested in 1854 by Europe. The Tsar declared war, this time not in the name of religion as in 1854, but in the interests of Russia and of Europe disturbed by agitations of oppressed Christians. This was a repetition of the war of 1828-29. The Russian army, aided by the Roumanian army, finally arrived at Andrianople and forced the Sultan to accept peace on the terms dictated by Russia (Peace of San Stefano, 1878. On the Russo-Turkish war, see chap xxviii.).

Russia demanded the separation of all the Christian countries, except those occupied by the Greeks (Thessaly, Crete), in which she was not interested. The Sultan renounced his sovereignty over all the Christian peoples who were still tributary to him (Roumania, Servia, Montenegro), and granted them their territory. He recognised a new Christian state, Bulgaria, composed of the country on both sides of the Balkans and Macedonia. This was a definite dismemberment. The Empire retained only three scattered bits in Europe: 1. Roumelia; 2. the peninsula of Salonica, Thessaly, Epirus, and Albania; 3. Bosnia, and Herzegovina, where the Christians were to have an independent administration.

The other European governments found this dismemberment

too favourable to Russia, and the Congress of Berlin adopted another. The three Christian states, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, became sovereign states, with increased territory. They cut down the share of the two states specially protected by Russia, Montenegro, and more particularly Bulgaria (see p. 665). To make up for this, they asked Austria to *occupy* Bosnia and Herzegovina for the purpose of restoring order there, without fixing the limit of time for the occupation. France and Italy secured a promise of an enlargement for Greece; but a change of the diplomatic situation came near to making the promise worthless. It was only after long negotiation that Greece succeeded in obtaining from the Ottoman government Thessaly and a bit of Epirus (1881).

The Empire now held in Europe only the Mussulman provinces of Roumelia (*vilayets* of Constantinople and Adrianople), Albania and Epirus, and the Christian province of Macedonia.

Personal Government of Abdul-Hamid.—The crisis of 1878 left the Ottoman Empire heavily involved. It had to arrange terms of evacuation with Russia and a war indemnity; the Empire, for the lack of money, remained in debt to Russia. It had to arrange with Austria for the situation of Bosnia; technically the Sultan remained sovereign over it, but he recognised Austria's right to organize the province as she wished, with the promise to respect religious freedom. In reality Bosnia was not only occupied by the Austrian army, but governed, under the direction of the common minister of finance of Austria-Hungary, by a resident governor and a "government" composed of Austrian officials. The Sultan had also to negotiate with his creditors; the principal of the debt was reduced and the customs revenue was pledged as security, to be administered by a European commission (1881).

The Albanian Mussulmans in the territory ceded to the Christians made armed resistance to the Sultan's orders. They even formed an "Upper-Albanian League" (1878) which attacked Montenegro and had to be put down by force (1881).

Abdul-Hamid at first wavered between contradictory influences. He took as grand-vizier a *protégé* of France, Khereddin, formerly a minister of Tunis, who announced a number of reforms; the Sultan dismissed him when he demanded the right to choose the ministers (1879). He let England propose a plan of reforms which were never carried out (1880). Then he himself took charge of the government at the head of the ministry. The

official Divan still existed, but the real control of the government passed into the hands of the Sultan, who adopted the custom of settling matters in personal consultation with his favourites. At length, overburdened with suspicions of conspiracies, Abdul-Hamid shut himself up in his " Kiosque," surrounded by a large guard, the *hamidies*, composed of Kurds, Syrians, and Albanians, and showed himself to his subjects only on rare occasions. The Ottoman Empire was subjected to the personal government of a painstaking but ill-informed sovereign.

Abdul-Hamid seemed to wish to act as religious head of all the Mussulmans; he sought the society of holy persons and encouraged the preaching of *hadjis* (pilgrims from Mecca). He was even supposed to be thinking of *Panislamism*, as a cry to unite all the faithful under the direction of the Sultan. He had dismissed the advocates of European institutions, the authors of the revolution of 1876, and had Midhat-Pasha condemned as the murderer of Abdul-Aziz. *Young Turkey*, taking refuge in foreign lands, became a revolutionary opposition party, trying to prevail on Europe to depose Abdul-Hamid.

Abdul-Hamid meanwhile left himself to the guidance of England in his choice of officers and, though the reforms had failed, succeeded in establishing a tolerable administration in his Asiatic provinces. From Germany he received some Prussian generals (1883) who wished to reorganize the army by extending military service to Christians (1886), and a German financier who tried to draft an exact budget (1883). Except for the chronic agitation in Crete * and a number of movements in Albania (1884, 1887), peace was almost restored in the Empire. This period of calm was of advantage to the Armenians, Gregorian Christians, industrious and peace-loving mountaineers; they formed all over Asia Minor and at Constantinople a notable proportion of the merchants, workingmen, and also officials in employments where

* The organic statute of 1868, given to Crete after the insurrection, established a " national assembly," elected where the Christians had the majority. The Assembly and the Mussulman governor were in continual conflict. The Christians demanded first of all Christian and native officials and a part of the custom-duties and taxes of the island to meet the expenses of the island. One party (radicals) continued to make plans for separation, in harmony with a Greek committee at Athens. The insurrections continued during the war of 1877, in 1885, 1887, 1889, 1895, 1896. The Turkish government promised reforms by ordinance (1878, 1887, 1896); but the Christians have continued to complain of the despotism of the Mussulman officials and have finally compelled Europe to interfere.

real labour was necessary. Europe protected them as Christians and agents of civilization.

About 1890 Abdul-Hamid seemed to change his policy. Shaking off German and English influence, he turned to Russia and France. His policy toward the Armenians changed about the same time. Then began riots against the Armenians in Constantinople (1890), and in Asia Minor quarrels between the Armenians and Kurds—the latter encouraged by the Mussulman authorities (1893). A small national Armenian party was formed, directed by revolutionary committees, partly composed of Armenian subjects of Russia. It demanded, not separation, but simply autonomy for Armenians and guarantees for security. The government replied by condemning real or pretended revolutionists (1893), then by massacres (1894-95) directed by the Mussulman authorities, executed by soldiers or hired assassins. These massacres were, however, officially represented to Europe as Armenian revolts.

At length, to enforce the attention of Europe, a number of Armenian revolutionists made a sudden attack on the Ottoman Bank. The government immediately ordered the massacre of all the Armenians in Constantinople (August, 1896). In spite of the silence of the newspapers favourable to the government, information gathered on all sides and reports of European consuls ended by rousing Europe to an outburst of indignation against the Sultan and obliging the powers to unite in a demand for reforms and guarantees.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE CHRISTIAN NATIONS OF THE BALKANS.

Christian Nations of the Ottoman Empire in 1814.—The European part of the Ottoman Empire, which, for want of a common name, we call by the two conventional terms *European Turkey* and the *Balkan Peninsula*, has always had, since the Middle Ages, a heterogeneous population, made up of several peoples with sharp distinctions of language, dress, and national feeling. They had been in fact separate nations, constituted as such long ago; the Ottoman conquest of the fifteenth century had covered them up and preserved them intact; the Turks had settled only Roumelia, the region about Constantinople.

Without counting the Gipsies and Jews, there were, in the Balkan Peninsula, five nations previous to the coming of the Turks, differing in race,* or at least in language: in the north-west the Servians,—in the west the Albanians,—on the south, in the islands and on the coasts, the Hellenes,—in the north, on either side of the Balkans, the Bulgarians,—and north of the Danube the Roumanians.

The Albanians, a mountain people, while preserving their national dress and customs and even their old language, *Schkipétar*, had for the most part become Mussulmans, and consequently a part of the Ottoman nation. They furnished a good part of the officials and especially of the soldiers and military officers of the Empire. A part of the Servians had been converted, and formed in Bosnia a Mussulman aristocracy, which preserved the Slavonic tongue and national dress, but no longer felt itself in unison with the greater part of the nation, which was still Christian.

The Christian nations had nothing in common but religion, for the two Slavic peoples, Servians and Bulgarians, differed in

* They do not seem to have really been *races* in the anthropological sense, that is, species of men constituted with precise and hereditary physical characteristics; that is evident in the case of the Hellenes, who have absorbed so many of the Albanians, not to mention the Slavs.

language and costume. Except for the Bosnian Catholics, all the Christians in European Turkey were *Orthodox*,* in communion with the Greek Church of Constantinople. Their clergy consisted of married priests, of little education, and living in poverty without regular income, and of monks sworn to celibacy. The bishops, chosen from among the monks, were the heads, not only of the clergy, but also of the community. According to the general custom of the Orthodox Church, religion consisted mainly of practices, ceremonies, fasting, and pilgrimages; the clergy seldom preached or gave religious instruction, and had little influence over the intellectual life of laymen.

Each of these Christian nations formed a compact group on a portion of territory which was to become the centre of a Christian state. But each had also some of its members settled outside of its principal territory. This gave rise to complications of two sorts:

1. On the frontier of each territory, and in the intervening regions between the national centres, the population was a mixed one, composed of little national groups. This led to conflicts between the different Christian nations for the possession of these undecided territories. The complication was especially inextricable in the province of Macedonia, where, into a population mainly Slavic (Bulgarian or Servian) Albanian colonies and bands of Wallachian shepherds (Roumanians) had introduced themselves; also on the coasts and in the cities, where a whole Hellenic or Hellenized population had settled. The boundaries between the Servian and Bulgarian and the Greek districts were not only uncertain, but fluctuating; they varied with the changes of population, which were rapid in a country of high birth-rate; also with the progress of Hellenization, for the Hellenes have preserved the faculty of turning into Greeks the foreigners with whom they come in contact.

2. Each of these nations had outside of its territory members who were subjects of one of the great neighbouring empires, but who preserved their religion, language, and a vague sentiment of national unity. Thus the desire to establish the unity of the whole nation brought conflicts with great neighbouring states, who objected to any attempts at depriving them of subjects. There were Roumanians in Transylvania, in the Kingdom of

* The heretical sects, the Gregorians of Armenia, and the Nestorians of Chaldea and Syria, and the sects recognising Rome, were hardly represented in Europe, outside of Constantinople.

Hungary, in Bukovina in Austria, in Bessarabia in the Russian Empire; Servians in Hungary, Albania, and Herzegovina; Greeks in the islands and on the coast of Asia.

In 1814 all these Christian nations were subject to the Sultan. They have become independent during the course of the century. The Eastern Question has not been settled either by the Russian conquest or the reform of the Ottoman Empire, but by the separation of the Christian peoples, who have been organized into states on the European model.

The separation has come by degrees; except for Greece, the Christian states remained officially a part of the Ottoman Empire until 1878, and the last-born, Bulgaria, is still in that condition. But to understand their history, it is better, without regard for official forms, to study them separately, bringing each up to the beginning of its political life.

ROUMANIA.

The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia up to 1856.— Of all the Christian nations subject to the Sultan, the Roumanians had been least affected by Ottoman rule. The two principalities, *Wallachia*, the plain between the Danube and the Carpathians, and *Moldavia*, the plain between the Carpathians and the sea, had only become tributary to the Sultan. No victorious Mussulmans had come in to set themselves up over the Christian people; the principalities preserved all their social and political organization, their Christian aristocracy of landowners and dignitaries (*boïars*), their prince (*Hospodar*) elected by the aristocracy, and their Orthodox clergy.

But in the eighteenth century the Ottoman government, suspecting the Roumanian hospodars of relations with the Tsar, had adopted the custom of sending as hospodars Christians who were strange to the country. It usually chose Greeks from Phanar, the Greek quarter of Constantinople, who were rich enough to buy their nomination, and gave them but a short term; between 1716 and 1821 there were 37 hospodars in Wallachia and 33 in Moldavia. Since 1774 the Tsar, posing as protector of the Christians, had obliged the Sultan to promise to fix the tribute and appoint the hospodars for seven years.

During wars between Russia and the Sultan, the first act of the Russians was always to occupy the principalities and to organize there a provisional administration which lasted until their

withdrawal. In 1812 Russia kept a bit of Moldavia, Bessarabia, to the left of the Danube. On her withdrawal in 1834 she imposed Roumanian hospodars of her own choosing and left in force the *organic regulation* of 1831, drawn up in each principality under the direction of the Russian authorities by an assembly of boïars and bishops.

In both principalities political life was still rudimentary. The only cities were the two residences of the hospodars, Jassy in Moldavia and Bucharest in Wallachia, and the trading ports on the Danube and the Pruth. The population was composed almost entirely of peasants, settled in the great plains; the forest-covered mountains were practically uninhabited. The land was divided into great estates of 400 to 8000 hectares (1000 to 20,000 acres), belonging to the nobles, very few of whom, especially in Wallachia, resided on their estates, but left them in the hands of overseers. The peasants were therefore only tenants, cultivating from father to son a lot which their lord gave them in return for labour on the part of the estate reserved to himself. This labour, fixed officially at 12 days in 1831, was often trebled in practice. The peasants lived in wretched huts grouped in villages, with almost no furniture, for they could have saved nothing from pillage in that open country, constantly traversed by Russian and Turkish armies.* All public life was centred in the capitals, where the nobles flocked to the hospodar's court to spend their income. Bucharest had already a population of 100,000, palaces, theatres, newspapers, and carriages. It was an oasis of French civilization set in a Slavic and Oriental waste; for the Roumanians, a nation of Romanic language, were drawn toward France; their nobles learned to speak French and imported their luxuries and literature from Paris. Political interest was furnished chiefly by the boïars' complaints against the hospodars, whom they accused of despotic government.

It was the French revolution of 1848 that awoke the principalities to political life. The Roumanian nobles, in their admiration for France, followed the example of Paris. The nobles of Moldavia demanded a constitution from their hospodar Stourdza,

* Von Moltke, who saw Wallachia in 1835, described it as a desert plain, showing neither castles, bridges, mills, inns, gardens, nor trees; not even villages, for these are hidden and formed of low huts. The people are unarmed and bow down before any well-dressed man. In the houses there are neither dishes, furniture, nor provisions; the Wallachian carries his knife, pipe, and tobacco on his person, leaving nothing in his house.

who replied by ordering them out of the country; attempts were made to assassinate him. In Wallachia, the malcontents, aided by the people of Bucharest, forced Bibesco, the hospodar, to sign a constitution; then, when he fled the country, they set up a provisional government. But the Tsar interfered to support his *protégés*, the hospodars, and to put down the revolution. A Russian army took possession of Moldavia in July, then Wallachia, where a Turkish army had already seized Bucharest. The Tsar and the Sultan arranged by the treaty of Balta-Liman, May, 1849, to replace the two hospodars with successors appointed for seven years only, and to restore the organic regulation of 1831, with the promise to have it revised.

The war between the Tsar and the Sultan overthrew this combination. When the Russian army, in 1854, evacuated the principalities, Austria occupied them until the peace, in 1856.

Formation of the State of Roumania (1856-66).—The Roumanian state was the work of the European governments. The Congress of Paris, in order to keep Russia from monopolizing the protection of the Roumanians, put both principalities under the collective guarantee of the powers. The Sultan promised to leave them complete independence in internal administration; as he had already, in 1829, given up his fortresses and garrisons there, his sovereignty was reduced in practice to exacting a tribute and forbidding independent foreign relations. Moldavia recovered that part of Bessarabia which was taken away from Russia in order to keep her from the Danube. A European commission was appointed to organize the two countries, assisted by two councils (*divans*) elected by the inhabitants.

Two parties were formed on the final organization. Napoleon III. wished to see the Roumanian nation united, as did also the great majority of the Roumanians. The Ottoman and Austrian governments preferred to keep the two principalities separate; this system was advocated by a number of Moldavians, who feared the supremacy of Bucharest. The provisional governors appointed by the Sultan managed the elections so as to have non-unionists elected in Moldavia. But France intervened and obliged the Sultan to quash the election; the partisans of unity were then elected.

In October, 1857, the two councils of Moldavia and Wallachia asked for union in a single principality of Roumania, with a foreign prince. The Sultan refused and declared the councils dissolved; Napoleon supported the Roumanians. Finally, at the

Paris Conference, a compromise was effected: the principalities kept their two governments, two elective hospodars, and two representative assemblies; but, in 1858, they became the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, with a common commission of 16 members for common affairs and a common court of justice.

The complete union was established by an expedient. The two assemblies agreed, in 1859, to elect the same hospodar, a Moldavian boïar named Couza, who was proclaimed under the title of Alexander I., "Prince of Roumania." The Sultan finally recognised this as a title for life, in 1861. Couza then announced by a proclamation: "The Roumanian nation is founded." The two ministries retired and were replaced by a single ministry. The two assemblies were merged into a single National Assembly in Bucharest in 1862. Henceforth the Roumanian state had a government and a capital.

The formation of the union was accompanied by violent political agitations and a permanent conflict between the prince and the Assembly. The constitutional system, though officially established, was not put in operation. The prince governed despotically, without a regular budget, and changing his ministers from personal motives (twenty ministries in seven years). The Assembly voted an address claiming the constitutional system, then refused to vote the budget until the ministry recognised its financial rights. The prince closed the Assembly, and appointed himself commander-in-chief (1863). The Assembly, at its next meeting, passed a vote of lack of confidence against the ministry, then refused to discuss the budget. The prince made a *coup d'état*, copied after Napoleon III.; he declared the Assembly dissolved, took possession of the hall, suspended the press law, and promulgated a statute establishing universal suffrage, a Senate, and a Chamber. He had it ratified by a plebiscite by universal suffrage, 620,000 ayes against 1307 nays; he even exacted approval of the new system from his officials, on pain of dismissal. Then, in 1864, under pretext of a conspiracy, he had the leaders of the constitutional party arrested. After that he pursued a masterful policy, decreeing the budget, having his official candidates elected, and reducing the function of the legislature to mere registration of his decisions. He had himself declared hereditary prince in 1865, and having no children he designated his successor.

The Assembly represented in this conflict, not the entire na-

tion, but the Roumanian nobility, the only part of the nation of sufficient education to take part in political life; the mass of the nation remained inactive. Alexander attempted, like Napoleon III., to pose as a democratic sovereign. The Paris Convention imposed on the Roumanians the obligation of abolishing all class privileges and "proceeding without delay to the revision of the law regulating the relations of landlords with the farmers, with a view to bettering the condition of the peasants." The Assembly had been unable to agree on the reform, and the prince made it by decree, in August, 1864. The peasants received as their own property the land they possessed as tenants, and were freed from compulsory labour, paying instead an indemnity to the great landlords. The government assumed charge of the transaction, expropriating the landowners, but leaving them at least a third of their property and giving them a compensation. The land was distributed among the peasants in lots proportioned to their live stock. They were to pay for it in annual instalments spread over 15 years. Four hundred thousand families became proprietors.

Alexander was detested by the people of Bucharest. The Roumanian nobles took advantage of this to rid the country of him by a plot. The conspirators surprised him in his sleeping apartments, forced him to abdicate, and set up a provisional government which convoked the Chambers to elect a new prince. The Roumanians were convinced that their country could not be governed by a Roumanian prince, as the great families could not bear to yield obedience to one of their own rank. They therefore agreed to invite a foreign prince. The Chambers elected first a Belgian prince, who refused. A German prince of the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns became Charles I. of Roumania (1866).

The Constitutional Monarchy.—With the accession of Prince Charles a regular political life began. The Constitution of 1866 established in Roumania a liberal system like that in Belgium (jury trial, national guard, liberty of press and of public meeting), and the machinery of the government of the constitutional monarchies, a *responsible* ministry chosen by the King, a parliament consisting of two houses, both chosen by voters divided into groups by a system similar to the Prussian *classes:* a *Senate* of 120 members, of which 110 are elected from among the property owners by two groups of propertied voters, and a *Chamber of Deputies* of 178 members, elected by almost universal but un-

equal suffrage—the voters acting in four groups, of which the last includes all taxpayers. The country was organized on the French system of departments and districts, administered by prefects and subprefects; with centralized services, a Court of Accounts, and legal codes copied from France.

The former parties began to dispute for possession of the power. Their chief points of difference were on foreign policy and social tendencies. The *White* or Conservative party, composed of the great landowners and called the "Boïar party," was Russia's party, hostile to the foreign prince and ill-disposed toward reform. The *Red* or Liberal party wanted government by the middle class and alliance with Germany and Austria. The leader of the Liberal party, John Bratiano, gained for himself the name of Roumanian Bismarck. Between the two, as the result of personal rivalries, arose a third party, the "Young Right," whose efforts were chiefly directed against Bratiano's administration. A group of dissenters detached itself from the Liberal party, led by a brother of Bratiano; also another group under Rosetti, favouring universal suffrage. The struggles and coalitions between these groups made parliamentary life animated and complicated.

Charles I., who, until he became prince, had been an officer in the Prussian army, busied himself chiefly with the army and with foreign policy. He always observed very nearly the parliamentary principle, governing with ministers supported by the majority in the Chambers. But it is plain that in Roumania the ministry has such control over the elections that the sovereign may in many cases make the majority by calling to the ministry the party he prefers. Charles I., naturally leaning toward the Liberals, who favoured the German alliance, began with a Liberal ministry under Bratiano, and kept the Liberal party in office except when the united oppositions became too strong.

One of the great difficulties was in the financial organization; the country had already a heavy debt, amounting to almost $160,000,000, and a chronic deficit which went on for twenty years. The state lands were sold, a government monopoly in tobacco introduced, the currency was reformed and placed on the decimal system. Bratiano's program included the development of the country's economic resources by establishing railroads and schools. But the Liberal party was still too weak to keep itself in power. The Roumanian sympathy with France made the position of a Hohenzollern prince a very difficult one,

as long as France and Prussia were on such bad terms. The Conservatives gained the majority in the Chambers. Charles I., feeling himself unpopular, resigned himself to a Conservative ministry, but occasionally tried to restore Bratiano until 1868. Roumania went through a period of severe struggles interspersed with outbreaks. In 1870 the Chamber officially expressed its sympathy with France, and the prince talked of abdicating;* a demonstration in honour of the German victory in March, 1871, led to a riot in Bucharest. Finally by means of a dissolution a Chamber was secured that was willing to support a compromise Conservative ministry under Catargi, who consented to govern in harmony with the prince. Order was restored, and the Catargi ministry remained in office until 1876. For the first time a Chamber lived out its term.

Charles I. laboured to build up an army on the Prussian model. He obtained a compulsory three-year service; but, as the budget would not permit the enrollment of the whole contingent, it was divided into two sections, a standing army for three years and a reserve, the *dorobanze*, called out for periodical practice. It thus formed an army of nearly 150,000 men in time of war, provided with modern artillery imported from Germany. This Roumanian army was to play a decisive part in the war against the Turks.

The prince's position was strengthened. When the crisis of the Ottoman Empire set in, Charles I. found himself strong enough to pursue a national policy. His plan was to free Roumania from Turkish sovereignty, which still made itself felt in many offensive ways. The Porte refused to call the country Roumania, to recognise her diplomatic agents in Turkey, or to let them settle the affairs of Roumanian subjects. Charles I. then shook off the Conservative party and, after trying a mixed ministry, took a Liberal ministry under Bratiano in 1876, which, with a short interruption in 1881 and several reconstructions, lasted until 1888.

Roumania, having entered the war against the Sultan, joined forces with Russia, who promised her the integrity of her territory. But in the peace Russia took Roumanian Bessarabia, which she needed in order to reach the left bank of the Danube;

* In a private letter dated 1871 he complains of the inexperience of the Roumanian people, who have "jumped from a despotic system to a most liberal constitution," and who "have not the necessary strength of character for an almost republican form of government."

in exchange she made the Sultan cede to Roumania the Dobrudsha, a fertile but unhealthy and deserted country. Roumania appealed to the Congress of Berlin, but secured only a slight increase of compensation.

The war made Roumania a sovereign state. Her independence, which had been proclaimed by the Roumanian Chambers as early as 1877, was officially recognised by the Sultan and the Congress, but on the condition of granting legal equality without religious distinctions; this related to the Jews of Moldavia, who numbered nearly 300,000, and had hitherto been excluded from political rights. The title of prince was replaced by that of King in 1881.

The Kingdom of Roumania was still, however, far from including the whole Rouman stock. Not to mention the Wallachian shepherds and Roumanish communities scattered through Bulgaria, Servia, and Macedonia, there remained a half million of Roumans in Bessarabia, 2,500,000 in Hungary and Transylvania, and 200,000 in Bukovina. A party has been formed to deliver unredeemed Roumania (*Roumania irredenta*). It has put itself in communication with the outside Roumans, especially those in Hungary, and has made sundry demonstrations against which the Hungarian government has publicly protested.

On the other hand an Orthodox Russian movement has been made among the clergy by the priests educated in the Russian seminary of Kiev, and among the peasants, by the popes and peddlers of patriotic Russian emblems. The Roumanian Church, governed by a synod of its own bishops, under the direction of lay officers, has been declared wholly independent of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. This led to an Orthodox agitation, aimed in reality against the King, on account of his being a Catholic. In order to calm the discontent the King had his nephew and heir, Prince Ferdinand, brought into Roumania; this prince has himself remained a Catholic, but has had his son baptized in the Orthodox faith (1893).

The Liberal ministry went on building railroads and establishing schools and supporting the King's military enterprise of turning Bucharest into a great fortified camp. The ministry attempted an agrarian reform. In 1884 it procured a revision of the Constitution, abolishing the national guard, and making the suffrage more democratic by suppressing the separate group of 3000-franc electors. A small socialist party was formed, having its centre at Bucharest and seeking to gain the support of the

peasants who were disappointed in their expectation of receiving lands.

The Liberal party, weakened by the divisions among its leaders, was overthrown by the agitation produced by the new understanding between France and Russia. The Conservative party accused it of having made the Roumanian army a part of the German army, and with having allied itself to the enemies of France. The Conservatives obtained a majority in the Chamber and even voted to impeach the Bratiano ministry (1889).

After the experiment of a coalition ministry of seceding Liberals and young Conservatives, the King, in 1889, went back to Conservative ministries, with a sprinkling of Liberal-Conservtives; these ministries lasted until 1895. At that time, Bratiano being dead, the Liberal party regained the majority and the ministry (Stourdza, 1895; Aurelian, 1896).

The industrial advance of the country has continued. If the debt has increased, it has been for the construction of state railroads. The credit of the government has been strengthened and its bonds have risen in price.

GREECE.

The Greek Nation before 1820.—Greece, conquered by the Ottomans, placed under Mussulman governors, and held down by Mussulman garrisons, had nothing corresponding to a national organization. The Greeks, since the Middle Ages, did not form a single nation. The Greek Church was common to all the Orthodox, so that outsiders made no distinction between Greeks and Slavs. But the Greek langauge had been preserved, and this, combined with memories of ancient Greece, was enough to keep alive the thought of an Hellenic nation. All the Christians who spoke Greek, not only descendants of the Hellenes, but also the Hellenized Albanians and Slavs, felt themselves to be members of one and the same illustrious race, to which it was glorious to belong.

The renascence of the Hellenic nation became manifest at the end of the eighteenth century. Under the Sultan Selim, who favoured his Christian subjects, the Greeks had grown in numbers, wealth, and civilization. They had established the manufacture of silk and of cotton, especially in Thessaly. They had taken advantage of the European wars to build up a merchant marine under the flag of Turkey, which remained neutral. They

carried on almost the whole exportation of Russian grain from Odessa and a large share of European commerce in the Levant. Being good and courageous sailors, they made quick voyages at slight expense, for the crew consisted of the relatives of the owner and shared in the profits. It was said in 1816 that they had about 600 vessels and 17,000 sailors; they had established colonies of Greek merchants in the chief ports of the Mediterranean (Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, and Odessa) and even in London and Liverpool.

By contact with the civilized countries the Greeks advanced in civilization. Their merchants, enriched by the new trade, founded schools for the instruction of Greek youth at Bucharest, Corfu, and Constantinople. The Greek language, debased by centuries of barbarism, began to recover its purity. By the labours of Coraï, a practical compromise was found between the vulgar tongue and classical Greek.

Through education the Greeks became conscious of their nationality. The French Revolution aroused them;* later the destruction of the Republic of Venice created, in the Ionian Isles, an Hellenic centre independent of the Sultan. These France erected into the Republic of the Seven Isles. After their capture by England they were placed under an English governor with a special administration (1815).

The Greeks were scattered all over the Ottoman Empire, on the coasts and in the large cities. But a compact Greek population, in the southern part of European Turkey, occupied Morea, Romaïe (central Greece), Thessaly, and the islands. There were among them Albanian and Slavic Christians who were rapidly becoming Hellenized. In these regions there were Hellenic groups with enough strength of organization to have thoughts of national independence.

In Morea, where there were few Mussulmans, each Christian community was administered by its own notables; for the country as a whole the assembly of *primates*, elected by delegates from the communes, met each year with the Mussulman Pasha at Tripolitza. In Maina (ancient Laconia) the mountaineers, the Mainotes, remained armed, with leaders entrenched in strong castles and carrying on petty warfare with one another.

* Rhigas, the Greek patriot of Thessaly, composed a national hymn: "Rise, sons of Greece, the time of deliverance is nigh." The Austrian police handed him over to the Pasha of Belgrade, who had him drowned (1798).

In the mountains of central Greece and Epirus the Christians, Hellenes, and Albanians formed an irregular militia, the *Pallicares*, who kept their national dress and their national leaders, the *Armatoles*. But since the Turkish government, distrusting the Christian armatoles, had excited Albanian Mussulmans against them, the Pallicares had retired to the mountains and become *Klephts* or brigands. They defied the Turkish authorities and were the national heroes of the Hellenes; they fought in small bands, usually with guns, which they fired from behind rocks. There were no sailors then except in the islands, where the Greek population was allowed to govern itself, paying taxes to Turkey. Almost all the seafaring population was concentrated on three bare and barren rocks, the *Nautical Isles*, in the Argolic Gulf. The largest of these was Hydra, where the people, though wearing the Greek dress, were still Albanian and spoke the Albanian language; it had a population of 40,000, crowded into 3000 stone houses built in the shelter of a high bluff. The community was aristocratic, only the landowning "primates" could vote in choosing the 12 *demogerontes* (elders of the people) who governed the island. Spezzia, which was peopled by half-Hellenized Albanians, was less populous, less rich, and less aristocratic, with fewer "primates" and less powerful families. Psara, the smallest of the islands, was altogether Greek and democratic. All three lived like small republics, with the condition of sending presents to the dignitaries of the Turkish navy.

Their ships, armed with cannon for defence against the Barbary pirates, manned by semi-martial sailors, formed a veritable navy. The general peace, by putting an end to the privileged situation of the Turkish flag, had reduced the sailors of the Nautical Isles to inaction and disposed them to throw themselves into adventures.

Formation of the Kingdom of Greece (1820-29).—In 1820 Greece had warriors armed and ready to fight: the Morean mountaineers and Pallicares, and the sailors of the Nautical Isles. Her opportunity came when the revolt of a Mussulman governor, Ali, Pasha of Janina, set the example of insurrection. The Greeks revolted at once in Epirus, Morea, and the islands.

In Morea the "primates" sent to Tripolitza to check the rising judged it more prudent to join the rebels. The Mainotes came down from the mountains and the Archbishop of Patras called his flock to arms. In three weeks the Mussulmans had lost everything but the capital, Tripolitza. The Christian in-

surgents, led by Kolokrotoni, a Klepht, blockaded the city and finally massacred the Mussulmans (1821). This was from the first a war of race and religion, a war of extermination, in which prisoners and even women and children were massacred on both sides. The war was long and widespread, full of dramatic episodes which were sung by the poets and became famous all over Europe. It was a period of coercion in all the European countries; the newspapers, forbidden to concern themselves with domestic affairs, were full of the exploits of the Greek heroes.

In fact the fate of Greece did not depend on the insurgents, who were too few to resist all the forces of the Ottoman Empire; it depended on the Christian powers of Europe. But the insurgents' resistance gave the public opinion of Europe time to compel the governments to intervene. It took six years to do it.

The insurrection was entirely stamped out in Epirus, Thessaly, and Crete (1823-24), after a number of massacres. It centred itself in the three regions that were to form the Kingdom of Greece: Morea, the Islands, and central Greece. The Greeks held out there for four years, 1821 to 1825; they drove back a Turkish army in Morea in 1823, and destroyed a Turkish fleet in 1824; their methods were those of guerrilla warfare—ambuscades on land, fireships at sea.

The Greeks had as leader, at first, a young nobleman, Demetrius Ypsilanti, who came to their assistance with his followers and his black flag bearing the design of a phœnix (see p. 619) ; he was called the *Archstrategist.* A national assembly met in the woods near Epidaurus and proclaimed the independence of Greece. It formed governments of notables (*gerousies*), two for central Greece and one for Morea, with a common central government for the whole. But the Greeks, who grudged obedience to an outsider, soon got rid of the band of followers and the phœnix. They then broke into two parties—on one side the Morean primates and the people of the Nautical Isles, favouring European civilization, and directed by Maurokordato, who wore a black coat and an eye-glass; on the other the Morean warriors under Kolokotroni, the Klepht. The Klephts at first drove out the legislative assembly, and each party had its own government; then they fought each other, and the civilized party prevailed. After this they divided into primates and Nauticals, and went on fighting (1823).

At length, in 1825, two Mussulman armies invaded Greece at once. One, coming by land from the north, besieged Misso-

longhi, and made the famous assault and massacre in 1826. The other, under Ibrahim, came from Egypt by sea, landed in the south, and regained Morea. The struggle went on between the primate party, friendly to England, and the warrior party, friendly to Russia. Each had its assembly. They decided to join in a single assembly, which made the Constitution of Troezen and elected for seven years a head of the government (Kybernetes); they chose Capodistrias, an Ionian, an agent of Russia, with an English admiral-in-chief and general-in-chief. After the Turks took the Acropolis, in June, 1827, the insurgents had nothing left but some forts, without ammunition, provisions, or money.

Greece, which was already in Mussulman hands again, was delivered by the European powers. (On the negotiations and the succeeding war, see chap. xxv.) The governments of England, Russia, and France had finally decided to interfere. They meant only to intimidate the Sultan and make him give Greece an autonomous government; their fleets came to Greece only to compel Ibrahim's army to withdraw (1827). But the battle of Navarino, which came on against the wish of the governments, obliged them to active intervention. A French army took Morea from the Turks once more (1828), and the next year a Russian army forced the Sultan to accept the decisions of the powers. The London Conference created an independent Kingdom of Greece, eventually suppressing the tribute money which, according to its first plan, was to be paid to the Sultan. But it did not wish to found a true Greek nation. The territory of the Kingdom was made up, not of all the countries having a Greek population, but only of those that were still in insurrection in 1825: that is to say, Morea, central Greece, and the European islands. The King was to be a European prince, and they were long in finding him. Leopold of Coburg, who later became King of Belgium, refused the invitation in 1830.

The Absolutist System (1829-43).—Meanwhile Capodistrias was governing despotically and insulting the Greeks. "You are all of you," he said, "brigands and liars." The people of Hydra revolted, seized the Greek ships and burned them. The Mauromichalis, the chief family of the Mainotes, revolted. Capodistrias had the head of the family imprisoned and was himself assassinated in October, 1831. His brother tried to succeed him, but the malcontents formed a government which made war on him and forced him to flee. At length, in Otto, son of Louis,

the King of Bavaria, a prince was found who had no connection with any of the great rival powers and was an admirer of Greece.

The Greece resulting from this war and diplomacy was a small and poverty-stricken state (750,000 souls). It lacked the richest Greek region, Thessaly, and the principal island, Crete. The country left to it was laid waste and depopulated by a war of extermination drawn out through 10 years. It was still full of armed bands (the semi-brigand Pallicares); it was without resources, and was burdened already with a usurious debt contracted in 1824-25. The Greek nation has spent all the rest of this century in renewing its population, restoring its land to cultivation, ridding itself of brigands, and trying to increase its territory, and improve its financial condition. It has had but a slow and partial success in a task so out of proportion to its resources. The European public, which knew little of the actual condition of the country, expected a brilliant renaissance of ancient Greece. The disillusionment which followed this philhellenic enthusiasm produced a feeling of derisive contempt which the obvious progress of Greece has not yet altogether dissipated.

The Greeks were a people of peasants, sailors, and warriors, with democratic customs, but accustomed to rally around popular chiefs. In this mountainous country, without roads and almost without cities, the only public life was municipal life. Over this still semi-barbaric people was placed a European government. King Otto, who was still a minor, brought with him a Bavarian regent who governed until his majority; also a Bavarian ministry, Bavarian officials, and a small army of Bavarian volunteers. He himself, still a Catholic and a German, brought to his task the ideas and methods of personal government. Political life began with the Greek Orthodox antipathy to the foreign Catholics, with the dissatisfaction of the Greek pallicares, incorporated in an army with the German uniform; with the ravages of the disbanded pallicares who had become klephts with the Mainote revolt (1835), and finally with the irritation of the clergy against the organization of the Greek Church under a synod of 5 prelates and a lay proctor on the Russian model. The government succeeded, however, in organizing some of the institutions of a civilized state: a capital, at Athens instead of Nauplia, in 1834,—a gendarmerie in 1833,—an administration like that in France, 10 *nomes* with prefects, 42 *eparchies* with subprefects and communes under *demarchs* practically appointed by

the government,—a Council of State, composed of the principal Greeks, in 1835,—the University of Athens in 1837, which became a centre of learning and patriotism for the whole Hellenic world,—a national bank in 1841.

Greek politics were entirely controlled by its dependence on the three European powers that had established the kingdom and advanced the money necessary for its organization, in the form of a loan of $12,000,000 guaranteed by all three. Each had its party. Russia supported the Napists, Capodistrias' former party, recruited among the clergy and the Orthodox believers, chiefly in Morea; France favoured the Coletti party, whose power was in central Greece; England, the Maurokordato and Tricoupis party, composed chiefly of the islanders. All three, struggling against the Bavarian court and government, agreed on a revolution. The Russian party wished to drive out the King and replace him with an Orthodox prince; the two others, to impose a constitution upon him. They took advantage of the government's financial embarrassment. England and Russia, by demanding interest on the loan and reduction of expenses in 1843, forced the King to disband his Bavarian soldiers. The Greek soldiers then revolted; the defenceless King dismissed his ministers, convoked a national assembly (1843), and accepted the Constitution of 1844. This was a liberal European constitution with a *responsible* ministry and two houses, a Senate chosen by the King, and a Chamber of Deputies elected, by universal suffrage, for three years, and receiving salaries.

Greece under the Constitutional System.—The King, in his subsequent isolation, was obliged to make honest application of the parliamentary system. Greece, alone among the new Balkan states, has been governed by ministers who are really subjected to the will of the majority, resigning under a hostile vote of the Chamber or the people.

This essentially democratic society, without religious passions, and but little influenced by the clergy, had no sufficiently sharp distinctions to make real parties. But as ways of making a career are few, employment scarce, and higher education confined to the upper classes, there are too many politicians and candidates for office for so poor a country. This causes sharp competition in elections to the Chamber and in the Chamber continuous struggles for possession of the ministerial offices. Greece is remarkable for the intensity of her political passions, shown in electoral struggles by administrative pressure, frauds,

and riots in connection with the ballot, and by the violence of the parliamentary debates and newspaper articles.

At first the contention for possession of power lay between the old parties. The advantage remained with the English and French parties, who had established a Western constitution and maintained the Catholic King, in spite of the Russian party. The French party then took the ministry (1844) and kept it. This caused trouble with the English government. On account of Don Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew and an English subject, whose house was pillaged in a riot in 1850, England sent a fleet to blockade the Piræus.

The Crimean war revolutionized Greek politics. The Greeks hoped for a chance to complete their territory through the war; they sent volunteers and arms to the Greek insurgents in Thessaly (1854). But England and France were unwilling to have the Ottoman Empire curtailed. French troops came to occupy the Piræus from 1854 to 1857. Greece was forced to accept peace with the Sultan and to promise to pay off the debt. Russia did nothing for Greece, preferring to protect the Slavic peoples.

The conduct of Greece's former guardians ruined the French, English, and Russian parties and completed Otto's unpopularity; he was reproached with having offered no resistance to Europe. The new division was between the court party and the democratic party. The court minister (Miaoulis, 1857-62), who maintained himself by "managing" the elections, became so unpopular that the army finally turned against the King. The soldiers revolted during the absence of the King and plundered the royal palace. A provisional government, composed of democrats, convoked a national assembly, which voted to dethrone Otto (1862).

The Greeks used this revolution to gain an increase of territory. The Ionian Isles, governed since 1815 by English governors, had a Greek population which had not ceased to ask annexation to the kingdom, and had even attempted revolts (1848-49). In 1862 England decided to give them to Greece, should the new King please her. The Greeks hastened to elect Prince Alfred, who refused; then they chose the English candidate, a son of Christian of Glücksburg, Crown Prince of Denmark. He became George I. in 1863. The Ionian Isles were annexed, and the University of Corfu was joined with that of Athens.

The Constitution of 1864 established liberty of the press and abolished the Senate. All the parliamentary power was centred

in the *Boulé*, elected by universal suffrage, increased to 192 members with a four-years' term. Political parties became hardly more than personal coteries (*Kommata*) known by the leader's name, and usually made up of men from his own part of the kingdom. The principal leaders were Komoundouros (Maina), Delyannis (Morea), Bulgaris (Nautical Isles), Zaïmis (Northern Morea), Deligeorgis (Missolonghi), and Lombardos (Ionian Isles). Competition was sharp and ministries short. It became the custom, as formerly in the United States, for each party to change all the officials when it assumed control, which finally gave political contests the appearance of quarrels for private interest. However, behind these rivalries there was perceptible a clashing between two opposing tendencies—a national tendency, hostile to European civilization, represented especially by Delyannis and the Moreans, and, on the other side, a European tendency represented by Tricoupis and his attempts at public works and the establishment of schools.

For fifteen years the ministry has alternated between Tricoupis (1882-85, 1886-90, 1893-95) and Delyannis (1885-86, 1890-92 and since 1895). The primary objects of Greek policy are still the completion of her territory and the payment of the national debt, both of which keep the Greeks strictly dependent on European governments and capitalists. At each crisis of the Ottoman Empire, Greece has attempted to regain a bit of Greek territory; but the powers have always interfered to prevent it:—after the aid given to Cretan insurgents in 1868, by the Conference of Paris (1869);—during the Russian invasion in 1878;—in 1886, in connection with Crete. France and Italy obtained for Greece a promise in 1878, which, after long negotiations, and mainly by English exertions, ended in the annexation of Thessaly in 1881. The finances have not yet been restored to order. The deficit goes on, increased by armaments for attempts at war against Turkey, and by railroads and canals. The debt, increased by borrowing to pay interest and by new loans (1864), grew to exceed $100,000,000; payments were finally suspended in 1893.

Nevertheless the country is gaining in population (2,200,000) and in welfare. Her wealth increases with her agriculture and commerce. Primary education has become universal. At the same time the assimilating power of the Hellenes continues to increase the number of Hellenes in the Ottoman Empire. The whole number of Greek-speaking people is estimated at 8,000,000. The Kingdom of Greece is the national centre for the scattered

Hellenes, the Greek merchants of the large cities of Europe, and the Greek physicians of the Mussulman countries. It is to these "Homogenes" (people of the same race), enriched abroad but still Greek patriots, that the kingdom, and particularly Athens, owe the legacies and foundations that enable Greece to hold her place in civilized Europe.

SERVIA AND MONTENEGRO.

Formation of the Principality of Servia.—The Servian nation, which had suffered an effective conquest, had lost its national aristocracy. There remained only a peasant people of Servian tongue and Orthodox religion unable to read or write, living on corn and maize and herds of swine which fed in the oak forests. Mussulman warriors, settled in the country, occupied the place of an aristocracy. But the Servians were in relations with Austria; many of them served in the Austrian army, from which some returned to their homes having attained the ranks of inferior officers. These returned officers and the pork-dealers were the notables of this land of peasants.

The Christian Servians took advantage of a civil war between the Mussulman warriors, to revolt first in the name of the Sultan, then against the Mussulmans; they took Belgrade and plundered it in 1805. The swineherds of Schoumadia, accustomed to roam armed through the forests, and the brigands (*heiduques*), who were popular heroes as in Greece, were the fighting force of the insurrection. Georges, the leader, called by the Turks *Kara* (the Black), was a petty Austrian officer who had become a pork-dealer. The Tsar, who was at war with the Sultan (1806-12), upheld the Servian insurgents, who recognised him as their protector. But, after peace was made, the insurgents, abandoned by Russia, could resist no longer, and fled to Austria. Only a memory and some epic poems remained of Kara-Georges' Servia. The Turks re-established collectors, and began once more to impose forced labour, and to behead and impale Christians.*

A local chief (voiwode) Milosh Obrenowitch, a pork-dealer and an enemy to Kara-Georges, took up the work of emancipation, but by different methods. He did not pose as a national

*The history of the Servian people before the independence and until 1820 is known almost entirely through oral tradition and the national songs.

hero, but as a servant of the Sultan. By protesting against the servile condition of Servia, he obtained power to collect the taxes and a right to keep arms. When Kara-Georges came back to Servia, he was assassinated, by order, it is said, of Milosh (1818).

Milosh, grown wealthy by levying taxes and holding the monopoly in the pork trade, induced the Ottoman government to give him the title of "Prince of the Servians of the Pashalik of Belgrade" (1820). During the Sultan's wars against the Greeks and against the Russians, Milosh remained neutral. The Sultan rewarded him by making him hereditary prince in 1830, withdrawing the Turkish garrisons from the country (except in Belgrade); he also gave him some of the districts inhabited by Servians outside of the Pashalik. This was the obscure beginning of the principality of Servia, under the form of a self-governing province of the Ottoman Empire, administered in the name of the Sultan by an hereditary native prince.

Milosh, established at Kragujevatch, in the interior, governed as an absolute monarch,* summoning only on great occasions the *Skouptchina*, a general assembly of the heads of families, which offered him no resistance. But he had displeased Russia, then all-powerful with the Ottoman government, and alienated many of his own supporters. A party led by his own brother Jephrem obliged him to accept a constitution in 1835; but the Russian and Turkish governments rejected it, and the opposition fled the country. Finally, in 1837, the Sultan and Russia imposed on him a constitution giving him three ministers and establishing a Senate of 17 life-members. The Senate, composed of his adversaries, asked him for accounts. Milosh attempted to get rid of the Senate by a peasant revolt; then, in 1839, abdicated in favour of his son Milan, a consumptive, who died soon after, leaving as his successor Michael, aged sixteen years.

Michael reigned with a regency composed of the notables that had overcome Milosh. But the regents could not agree. A strong party, supported by the Turks, revolted, drove out Michael, and made the Skouptchina elect Alexander Karageorgewitch, the son of the national hero, Kara-Georges; the Sultan accepted him (1842). Alexander was a peace-loving prince. Established at Belgrade, where there was a

* Tradition tells us that he took what he chose, paying for it what he chose; whoever was imprudent enough to complain of him was assassinated and his murder credited to a Turkish brigand; he forced merchants of the Danube cities to come and mow and reap in his fields.

Mussulman garrison, he remained subject to Austria and the Sultan. He was reproached with receiving in Oriental fashion, with his fez on, and with allowing himself to be led astray by the Austrian consul. The Servians were Orthodox, and did not take kindly to a prince who favoured Catholics and Mussulmans, and who did not convoke the Skouptchina. The senators conspired against him in 1857. He had them arrested and dismissed from office; the Turkish government forced him to restore them. His ministers, working in harmony with Russia, had a Skouptchina elected which requested the Prince to abdicate On his refusal, he was deposed and old Milosh recalled (1858).

Michael, who succeeded Milosh in 1860, seems to have had a plan to make one state of all the regions peopled by Orthodox Servians, by annexing Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro to Servia. This nationalist policy demanded a military force in Servia and an understanding with Servians abroad. Michael began to build up a Servian army. It was composed of a very small standing force of 2 battalions, designed only to serve as a nucleus; and, secondly, of a national militia to include all able-bodied men (80,000). Abroad the Servians excited and supported the insurgent Christians in Herzegovina (1862). This nationalist agitation led to conflicts in Belgrade between the Christian inhabitants and the Turkish garrison. The Turks fired on the city. The European powers intervened and obliged the Sultan to withdraw his troops from Belgrade. Turkish garrisons still remained in certain fortresses. By direct agreement with the Turkish government, Michael secured their withdrawal in 1867. He still kept the Turkish flag by the side of the Servian flag, as the last remnant of Ottoman rule in Servia. He was about to secure something still better, the government of Bosnia, under promise of paying a tribute. This would have been a long step toward a Greater Servia. But the hatred felt toward him by the family of Kara-Georges, the Karageorgewics, was a fatal obstacle. These opponents, supported by Austria, formed a conspiracy and assassinated Michael in 1868.

Servia under the Constitutional System.—Michael had no children; but his family, the Obrenowics, had become the popular national dynasty; the Skouptchina proclaimed Prince Milan, Milosh's grand-nephew, who was then 14 years old and was at school in Paris. The council of regency which governed in his name until his majority (1872) was presided over by Ristitch, the

leader of the Liberal party. Ristitch tried to organize the government on the European plan, by the Constitution of 1869.

The Senate was transformed into a Council of State of 11 to 15 members appointed by the government; its functions were to prepare legislation, to settle cases in administrative law, and in addition to supervise the public expenditures. The Skouptchina became a representative assembly, regularly elected, one member for every 10,000 in population. In this community of substantially equal peasant proprietors, there could be no thought of establishing either a middle-class representative system or an aristocratic second chamber. Suffrage was made almost universal, as every taxpayer could vote, and the deputies received salaries. The Skouptchina remained the only assembly, but to supply the place of an aristocracy, the prince was given the right to add members by appointment to the extent of one-fourth of the whole. Changes in the constitution, territory, or government were to be voted by a special Skouptchina, four times as numerous as the ordinary assembly. This was the beginning of political life in Servia. Parties were formed with European names: conservative, progressist, liberal, radical. Certain of these names covered nothing but personal rivalries between party leaders. However, it is plain that political life in Servia was in reality dominated by the opposition, if not between two parties, at least between two tendencies.

The Servian masses, essentially peasant and Orthodox, were determined not to be burdened with officials and taxes. The most prominent aims of their domestic policy were to procure communal autonomy, insist upon economy, and refuse to pay new taxes. In foreign policy their religious sympathies demanded alliance with Orthodox Russia, and the union of all Orthodox Servians to Servia. The Radical party, which has taken the direction of this movement, is above all a popular party with little love for Western civilization. Its instrument is the Skouptchina, whose elections, apart from government pressure, always give a Radical majority. Its centre was at first at Kragujevatch, the former capital, whose place has been taken by Belgrade.

The policy of the government, on the contrary, looked toward the introduction into Servia of the institutions of monarchical Europe. It desired to connect the country with the economic life of the civilized world by building railroads and developing her trade with Austria, the natural outlet for Servia's agricultural products. To do this the government had to raise money by

taxes and loans and make overtures to the Western governments, especially Austria. Its domestic policy therefore consisted in maintaining the supremacy of the central government in spite of the Skouptchina, extending the power of the officials at the expense of the communes, and increasing the standing army and the taxes. Its foreign policy was to secure an alliance with Austria. The partisans of this policy were few in number but they had the great advantage of having on their side all the permanent powers of the country,—the prince, the ministers, the Council of State, the office-holders and the army officers. The personal parties into which they were divided differed mainly, it seems, in the degree of arbitrary procedure that each was ready to employ in order to restrain the Radical movement.

The Liberal party, under Ristitch, governed during the regency, 1868 to 1872. Prince Milan, on attaining his majority, took a *Conservative* ministry, then a *Progressist* ministry. But the Christian revolt in Herzegovina excited national passion in the Skouptchina to the point of obliging Milan to take a Radical nationalist ministry (Grouitch and Ristitch), which decided to make war on Turkey with Russia's assistance.

Servia began the war (July, 1876). When conquered and invaded by the enemy, she was saved by European intervention, which imposed on the Sultan a truce, then a peace. But during the Russian invasion of 1877 Servia reopened the war. At the final peace of Berlin (1878) she obtained a territorial increase and complete independence. But the war had left a heavy debt, and the peace, by establishing Austria in the Servian country of Herzegovina, gave rise to great discontent, because it made the building up of a Greater Servia impossible. The Radical nationalist party, wishing to continue a Russian policy, negotiated with the Bulgarians to attempt a recovery of Bosnia with Russia's aid. In the meantime it protested against the plan of a railroad joining the Austrian system and rejected the commercial treaty with Austria.

Austria sent a threatening note which caused the dismissal of the ministry. The Austrian party took the power in October, 1880, and, under different ministries, for the most part Progressist, held it until 1887. The prince procured from Austria and his allies permission to take the title of *King* of Servia (1882). The Radicals protested against the treaty concluded with the *General Union* (Bontoux) and demanded a revision of the constitution in 1883. The government got rid of the opposition at first by an-

nulling the elections of Radicals (1882) and later by a *coup d'état*. The Radicals had regained the majority; the King adjourned the Skouptchina, suspended the guarantees of liberties, put the country under martial law, and ordered the surrender of all arms. The Radicals rebelled, and the insurrection ended in the shooting of many, a vast prosecution (819 accused), and the establishment of absolutism (1883). The Skouptchina, elected under official pressure, was merely an instrument for voting government proposals. In place of the poll-tax a new system was established of taxes on land, houses, capital, income (1884), and a government monopoly in tobacco. The communes lost their autonomy, with their right to levy taxes and dispense justice. Servia came under a centralized administration after the European model. She began to have a standing army like the European countries (25,000 infantry), with a three-year service; also a European debt formed during the war of 1876-78, and increasing with subsequent deficits (it was $5,000,000 in 1878 and $65,000,000 in 1895).

The war of 1885 against Bulgaria, which ended in defeat and invasion, made the government and the King so unpopular that after several ministerial crises and reconstitutions of the Garaschanine ministry, the Austrian Progressist party found itself unable to govern. Milan gave the ministry to the nationalist opposition, the Russian party, a coalition of Radicals and Liberals; first a Liberal ministry under Ristitch (1887), quickly succeeded by a Radical ministry under Grouitch.*

The Radical party made the Constitution of 1888, which transformed the Skouptchina into a purely representative assembly, suppressing the one-fourth appointed by the King, and greatly increasing its powers. Milan abdicated in 1889, declaring that he would not be "a King for signing papers." His son Alexander being still a minor, he appointed a regency under Ristitch, who promised to maintain the same foreign policy. Servia seemed to have entered upon the parliamentary system under the direction of a Radical-Liberal coalition.

*The domestic quarrels of the royal family, which were given such notoriety by the European papers, were nothing more than episodes. In 1888 Milan, having quarrelled with Queen Nathalie, the daughter of a Russian colonel, prevailed on the Metropolitan to pronounce a divorce, and got back the Crown Prince, who had been taken to Germany by his mother. Nathalie returned to Belgrade in 1889. The government begged her to go away and finally insisted upon it. The people rallied to her defence, and she was taken away in the night (1891). Later the king and queen were reconciled and annulled their divorce (1893).

But Milan took advantage of the discords between the Radicals and Liberals of the regency to resume control of the young King secretly. Alexander I., by his father's advice, made two *coups d'état* in succession: 1. He declared himself of age, had the regents arrested, and gave the ministry to his teacher Dokitsch, who rested on the Liberal party (1893). He brought his father to Servia, and, in order to silence the newspapers, which were attacking him, restored to him by decree the rank of member of the royal family. 2. Breaking with the Radicals, he issued a decree abrogating the Constitution of 1888 and the laws guaranteeing liberty of the press and communal elections. He also restored the Constitution of 1869. He then put himself in the hands of the Austrian party, which, under ministries of different names, Liberal (Christitch) or Progressist (Garaschanine), has kept the power and governed with the support of the officials and military officers, levying the taxes by royal decree, arresting or dismissing Radical and Liberal leaders, and procuring the election of a ministerial Skouptchina. The negotiations between the King and the Radical party for the establishment of a constitution having come to nothing (1896), Servia remains under a provisional system.

Montenegro.—Tchernagora, better known by the Italian name Montenegro, is a small, almost inaccessible country lying in the range of mountains that skirts the eastern Adriatic. It had maintained itself as a practically independent district within the Ottoman Empire. Its inhabitants, Orthodox Serbs, nominally Turkish subjects, formed a small nation of armed mountaineers, governed by a family of national and religious leaders who succeed each other from uncle to nephew, with the title of *Vladika* or prince-bishop. It was a democracy of warriors; the women cultivated the land and the men practised arms. The neighbourhood of Herzegovina gave Montenegro a political rôle; the *Vladikas* became allies of Russia, which used the Montenegrins to rouse the Christian Serbs of Herzegovina and to make raids upon the Turks.

In 1851 Danilo, on succeeding his uncle, dropped the title of *Vladika*, married, and founded the dynasty of the princes of Montenegro. The Sultan sent an army against him, which the Tsar obliged him to recall (1852). Then, in return for the attitude he had taken in the Crimean war, the Prince of Montenegro received an annual subsidy from the Tsar. Danilo was killed by a private enemy in 1860 and was succeeded by his nephew Nikita.

Montenegrin political life consisted of little more than the almost continual struggle against the Mussulmans, which came to open war during the Herzegovina insurrections (1862 and 1876). Russia repaid Montenegro's services in the campaign of 1877 by making the Sultan cede to her a larger and more populous territory than the whole former principality, with a port which assured her communication with Europe (1878). But the Albanian Mussulmans who occupied the country refused to give it up; and Montenegro got possession of it only after a long war and the famous demonstration of the European fleets before Dulcigno.

Of domestic political life there has been extremely little. The prince, once officially independent of the Sultan, has remained an absolute sovereign, controlling the budget, exercising all the powers, appointing even Church officials. But he has covered the patriarchal system with European forms. The administrative Statute of 1879 established a legislative *Council of State* of 8 members, half chosen by the prince, the other half elected by the people. A legal code of the French sort has been adopted. The organization has remained military, the people divided into tribes, each with its elective elders and its military chief. But the princely family of Montenegro, by means of marriages with the reigning families of Russia (1889) and Italy (1896), has entered the society of European dynasties.

BULGARIA.

The Bulgarian People before the Union of 1885.—Bulgaria, like Servia, had a Christian population of Orthodox Slavs, subject to a Mussulman aristocracy. The Bulgarian people was made up only of peasants, tenants of Mussulman landlords. But while the other Christian nations retained at least their national clergy, the Bulgarian clergy, subject to the Greek Church of Constantinople, had been disorganized. The Greek bishops had endeavoured to Hellenize the Orthodox Bulgarians, by replacing their Bulgarian religious books with Greek books, the Slavonic liturgy with the Greek liturgy, and by establishing Greek schools. In the Ottoman Empire where every nationality was represented by its national church, the Bulgarians, subjected as they were to Greek bishops, had ceased to form a nationality. They were counted in with the Greeks under the general head of Orthodox Greeks. The world had forgotten the Bulgarian people. The Russians,

when they occupied the country in 1828, were surprised to find a Slavic people, speaking a language much like their own.

With the Russian occupation the Bulgarian nation awoke to new life. A number of patriots took heart and entered into a struggle with the Greeks. The upper Greek clergy, supported by the Turkish government, persecuted the patriots, whom they suspected of acting as agents of Russian propagandism. In order to escape the Greek clergy, the Bulgarians, following the advice of Austrian Catholics, began about 1859 to form United Greek churches, which entered the Catholic communion by submission to the Pope, on condition of preserving at the same time their Slavic rite and their married priests. The Bulgarians as a consequence became the *protégés* of the Catholic powers—France and Austria. Russia was so disturbed at the loss of them that she persuaded the Sultan to institute an independent Bulgarian Church with a supreme head, the *Bulgarian Exarch*, established at Constantinople in 1870. The Greek Patriarch excommunicated the Bulgarian clergy.

The Bulgarians were still only a nation of raïas under Mussulman administration. An insurrection, organized by a committee established in Roumania, led to the famous massacres of 1876 (see p. 632) and the Russian occupation. The Bulgarian state was founded by Russia after the war. The principality of Bulgaria, as Russia arranged in the treaty with the Sultan, was to comprise the whole Bulgarian race, including Macedonia, which was inhabited by a mixture of nationalities—Bulgarians, Servians, Greeks, Wallachians, and Albanians. The new state seemed destined to remain under Russia's hand.

The Congress of Berlin, fearing Russian influence, cut the Bulgarian state into three parts. It restored the Sultan to full possession of Macedonia. Of the Bulgarian region south of the Balkans, it made eastern Roumelia a self-governing province under a mixed administration. It left to Bulgaria only the northern region, which became tributary to the Sultan, like Roumania before 1878, with a prince elected by the country and approved by the Sultan.

The principality of Bulgaria was organized by the Russians who occupied the country and who, on withdrawing, left military officers there. The Constitution of 1879 was presented by the Russian governor to an elective national assembly and was adopted by it. As in Servia, it established a ministry and a single assembly, the *Sobranje*, elected by universal suffrage, with a

quarter of the members to be chosen by the prince, and a double number for changing the constitution; it proclaimed all the modern liberties. In Bulgaria, as in Servia, society was democratic, composed of peasants, *popes*, and school-teachers. The prince elected by the assembly was Alexander of Battenberg, whom the Tsar had suggested. A Bulgarian militia was organized and commanded by Russian officers, with an outfit left by the Russian army. In fact, Bulgaria was at first governed by the Russians, as the grateful assembly recognised those who remained in the country as having all the rights of Bulgarian citizens, and consequently admitted them to every office.

The Bulgarian assembly soon broke up into political parties, which astonished the outside world by their practical sense. The chief leaders were teachers who had been educated abroad. The division came on the nationalist question. The conservative party (Grekoff) resigned themselves to the separation of Roumelia in order to avoid trouble with Europe. The nationalist party, which demanded unity at the risk of war, was composed of two groups, Liberals (Zankoff) and Radicals (Karaveloff). These divisions corresponded to personal rivalries. Prince Alexander formed a Conservative ministry, favourable to an alliance with Austria. The Radical-Liberal party, which was popular with the masses, had a majority in the *Sobranje* (1879). Political life began with a conflict between the prince and the assembly. The *Sobranje* was dissolved in 1879 and re-elected in 1880. Alexander tried a nationalist ministry, and then made a *coup d'état*. He dismissed the ministry, convoked an assembly, suppressed the constitution, and secured for himself special powers (1881). He formed a Conservative ministry under two Russian generals, who ended by dismissing the Conservatives and governing alone.*

The leaders of all the Bulgarian parties, discontented with this foreign government, arranged secretly among themselves, then with the Prince, to rid themselves of the Russians. The *Sobranje* suddenly presented an address to the Prince, begging him to re-

* Skoboleff, one of these Russians, tells us that Alexander attributed the *coup d'état* to the Russians in order to damage their popularity, but had in fact made it himself at the instigation of Austria. He further says that the Conservative party, to which his colleagues belonged, was only a clique of some two hundred persons hostile to Russia; that the leaders of this faction, knowing their own unpopularity, attempted to veil their anti-Russian designs under cover of a partly Russian Cabinet.

store the Constitution of 1879, and suggesting the desired amendments. The Russians were taken by surprise; they left the assembly in a fury and handed in their resignation.* The prince formed a coalition ministry of Conservatives and Liberals (1883), then an exclusively Liberal ministry. The revised constitution created a second Chamber. But Russian officers continued to command the Bulgarian army; the Russian diplomatic agent excited against the Liberals the Radical party, which gained a majority in the *Sobranje* of 1884 and was put in possession of the ministry.

Meanwhile eastern Roumelia had been organized as a self-governing province with a national militia commanded by European officers, an elective provincial assembly, a Christian governor appointed by the Sultan for 5 years, and a directory to perform the functions of a ministry. The first governor was Vogorides, a Greek, who surrounded himself with Bulgarians; the second, appointed under Russian pressure, was one of the members of the directory, a Bulgarian (Krestowitch), who took the name of Gavril-Pasha. The provincial assembly desired union with Bulgaria; the officials and military officers endeavoured to make way for it. It was a general conspiracy. One day (September 18, 1885) a battalion of militia arrested the governor and the general-in-chief; a provisional government was set up and was at once recognised by all the local authorities. It asked aid from the Prince of Bulgaria. The Tsar, who had been displeased with the Bulgarians since 1883, did not want the union. Prince Alexander knew this,† but he had to choose between a rupture with Russia and a breach with his own subjects by fighting the Roumelian Bulgarians. He agreed to the union, took the title of "Prince of the Two Bulgarias," and went with his army to take possession of Roumelia, where he was recognised as prince by a general vote of the inhabitants.

Bulgaria since the Union of 1885.—The union transformed Bulgarian politics. At first the great powers, fearing a general insurrection, condemned the action of the Bulgarians. The

*According to an Austrian account, Kaulbars left the hall crying: "Pigs, blackguards, liars!" while the Bulgarians replied with cheers.

† He had been informed of it in an interview with the Russian minister, Giers, and had replied that the people desired the union, but did not seem ready for it. He was warned of the revolution three days in advance, it is said, by a delegation from the revolutionary committee, and dissuaded them from the idea; but on their return the delegates found the revolution already in progress.

Tsar recalled the Russian officers who were in command of the Bulgarian army. The European ambassadors at Constantinople "condemned the revolution" and called upon the Bulgarians to disarm and dissolve the union. Then the Servian army invaded Bulgaria, which was unprotected on the western side. Alexander came back from Roumelia. The army, with Bulgarian officers in place of the Russians, took the offensive, forced the Servians back through the passes and drove them into Servia. Europe imposed peace.

Bulgaria's victory made the separate existence of Roumelia impracticable. The great powers continued, however, to demand execution of the Treaty of Berlin and to refuse to recognise the new state formed by the fusion of the two Bulgarias; but they contented themselves with a protest. The Turkish government finally accepted a compromise: Alexander was appointed governor of Roumelia (1886).

Russia would not be appeased. The result was to make of the Radical party, determined to maintain the union, a nationalist party opposed to foreign intervention. This party kept the ministry and had an enormous majority in the *Sobranje*, now reenforced by delegates from Roumelia. Zankoff, the leader of the Liberal party, became an agitator in Russia's service against the government. There remained a strong Russian party in the army and among the Orthodox clergy. The officers of special military services and the pupils of the military school at Sofia made a military *coup d'état*. Alexander, surprised by the conspirators, was forced to abdicate and was carried out of the country. Zankoff issued a proclamation explaining the deposition as the result of following a policy hostile to the Slavic race (August, 1886). A counter revolution quickly followed. The conspirators were arrested, Alexander was recalled and received with acclamation. The Tsar, however, refused to approve his return. Alexander abdicated, and a regency of three members took the power until a new prince should be elected.

Stambouloff, one of the regents and president of the *Sobranje*, then took charge of Bulgaria. He governed in harmony with Moutkouroff, the Roumelian commander of militia; but he quarrelled with the third regent, Karaveloff, the former leader of the Radical party.

Bulgaria's whole political life turned on plans for inducing Europe to accept the union and on the struggle against the Russian party. Russia refused to recognise the *Sobranje* because of

the presence of the Roumelian delegates. She demanded first (1886) the withdrawal of martial law and the holding of new elections; then, in 1887, a Russian general for regent, and for prince the Prince of Mingrelia, a Russian subject. The *Sobranje* refused in the name of national independence. But it was not easy to find a prince. Waldemar of Denmark was elected in 1886, but refused. The Bulgarian government gave up trying to appease the Tsar and decided to lean on Austria. It had a Catholic prince elected, Ferdinand of Coburg, an officer in the Hungarian army (July, 1887), who took a Stambouloff ministry. The powers refused to recognise him.

The Russian party in Bulgaria tried, by means of intrigues, military plots, insurrections (February, 1887, November, 1887, 1888), and attempts at murder (1887, 1891), to overthrow Stambouloff and put the country under Russia's protection once more. Stambouloff defended himself with prosecutions, executions, suppressions of newspapers and a system of terror; he was accused of torturing accused men and condemning innocent men (case of Major Paniza, 1890). The Liberals protested against the violation of the liberties guaranteed by the constitution. But the government was consolidated; Ferdinand was recognised by the Sultan, and had the constitution revised, cutting down the number of deputies and increasing their term from 3 to 5 years. The Metropolitan was condemned to prison for preaching a sermon against the Catholic prince.

At length Ferdinand, wearied of obeying Stambouloff, took a Conservative ministry, recalled the former leaders, the Radical Karaveloff and the Liberal Zankoff, and made advances to the Orthodox Russian party (1894). Stambouloff was assassinated in 1895, and his murderers are still unpunished. Ferdinand has had his son, Crown Prince Boris, baptized into the Orthodox Church (1896), with the Tsar for his godfather. Bulgaria has been reconciled with Russia, and at the same time has maintained her national independence and unity.

The agitation for the union of Macedonia continues. Bands of Bulgarian insurgents have fought small battles in the cause (1896). But the Bulgarian agitation meets other agitations in Macedonia, for the population there is very mixed, and it is doubtful whether the majority of Slavs are Bulgarians or Servians.

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CHAPTER XXII.

TRANSFORMATION IN THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL LIFE.

Industrial Inventions.—No other period in the history of the human race has seen such profound and rapid transformations in the material conditions of life as have taken place in Europe during the nineteenth century. The practical arts, which had been merely improved since old times by slow changes in points of detail, have been so completely revolutionized that the distance is much greater between the industrial processes of the eighteenth century and those of the present day than between those of the eighteenth century and the ancient arts, even those of Egypt.*

This revolution is the result of technical inventions made partly by experiment, party by methodical application of the theoretical sciences. Many of these inventions date back to the last third of the eighteenth century; but their practical effect was not felt by the masses in Europe before the end of the wars of Napoleon. The transformation of industrial life did not really begin until after 1814. It is the greatest modern event, an international event, for the inventions have been made by scholars and inventors of all nations, united in so close an international collaboration that it is not always possible to determine which country took the initiative in each; and they have passed from one nation to another, gaining imperceptibly from each.

We are already so accustomed to the new conditions of material life that we can hardly realize the Europe of 1814, so near to us in space of time and so far from us in conditions of life. It is therefore well worth our while to recall the principal inventions which in three-quarters of a century have placed such a distance between our ancestors and us. I shall not try to give their history; almost all of them have been accomplished at dif-

* To get an impression of this vast difference in the rapidity of evolution we need only compare the paintings on the Egyptian tombs representing the trades, the *Encyclopedia* engravings of the 18th century and the figures in any contemporary work of popular science.

ferent times by a series of fumbles and successive improvements,* which make it difficult even to classify them in chronological order. It is enough here to enumerate them and group them according to the knowledge of which they are the application.

The mechanical inventions, almost all made in England in the eighteenth century, were at first hand-machines, machines for spinning cotton, for spinning wool, for carding wool, for weaving cotton, for weaving wool, for making stockings. Between 1790 and 1815 the English used water-power for driving their spinning and weaving machines. Steam was not used until later. Agricultural machinery and machinery for the manufacture of paper were slow in coming into use. Invention has revolutionized modes of communication by macadamized roads (1820) and graded tracks—which have replaced the costly and uncomfortable stone roads, with their direct lines and steep grades; also by suspension bridges, viaducts, and railroad tunnels.

Machinery, by transforming the extractive industries, has procured in enormous quantities the materials necessary to other industries—coal, metals, and petroleum. The manufacture of metals, transformed by the use of coal, the building of great furnaces and steam hammers, has furnished iron, brass, and steel, which are the primary materials in the manufacture of the instruments of modern industry: tools, arms, rails, machines, frameworks, and bridges.

The gold and silver mines have been doubled in production by the use of the new machinery and chemical processes.†

The study of physics has furnished the two most characteristic forces of modern civilization, steam and electricity. Steam has been put to three great uses: first, the stationary steam-engine, used first in the mines, which now replaces animal and natural forces in all the great industries, spinning and weaving, and even in agriculture for threshing and reaping; secondly, the steam-

* For example, the electric telegraph and steamboats.

† The following table gives, where estimate is possible, some approximate figures on the increase in annual production, in millions of tons:

		England.	France.	Germany.	Belgium.
Coal, ...	1850	64	4	5	6
"	1887	162	20	60	18
Iron, ...	1850	2.2	0.4	0.2	
"	1887	7.5	1.5	4	

The total production of gold is estimated at $600,000,000 from 1800 to 1848; from 1848 to 1890 at $5,000,000,000.

ship, which has quickened transportation by water; and, thirdly, the locomotive and the railroad, which have increased in vast proportion the power and speed of transportation by land.* Electricity is more recent, but has already given us the electric telegraph, both land lines and submarine cables, the telephone, electric lighting, electric street cars, the galvanic battery, and the phonograph.†

Chemistry has given us the greater number of secondary inventions: chemical phosphorus matches in place of the steel, which was slow and hard to handle; chemical fertilizers, which have revolutionized agriculture; beet-sugar; illuminating gas, till recently the great means of lighting public places; colours extracted from coal, benzine, and creosote; photography and heliogravure; new explosive materials; chemical medicines; chlorine for bleaching and extracts for tanning; preserved foods, the extraction of aluminum, production of paper from wood-pulp, etc.

The biological sciences have made less progress, but they have given us, in particular, anæsthetics, which facilitate surgery, and antiseptics, which have transformed the practice of medicine. We must not forget the improvement in grain-raising and cattle-breeding, resulting from methodical experiments connected with the modern sciences.

This summary review of the principal inventions is enough to recall the mighty changes that have taken place in our life. My object is merely to show how this material transformation has affected European politics, directly by changing the practical conditions of government, indirectly by transforming the composition of society.

New Means of Destruction.—Until the middle of the century the world was still using the old explosive substances of the end of the Middle Age. The armies of 1814 had still only powder and guns with the flint-lock; cannon had been somewhat improved, but were still loaded from the muzzle. They were short-range arms which were slow to load and inaccurate in fire. Their chief advantage was their moral effect; they did not hinder a disciplined troop from keeping themselves in a firm mass, com-

*It is estimated that the cost of transportation in Germany has already decreased in the proportion of 20 to 1.

†Under the head of physics come also the optical instruments, microscope and lighthouse lenses. Neither air-balloons nor diving bells have as yet altered the conditions of life.

ing up close to the enemy, and making use of the bayonet. In order to join a revolt at this time one needed only a fowling-piece, powder, and balls; the difference in armament was hardly perceptible between soldier and insurgent, and in a street fight the insurgent, being in shelter, even had the advantage.

The new explosive substances have given the governments a destructive force which has changed the art of repression. The first was fulminate of mercury, which led to the invention of percussion caps. In 1847 came the much more important discovery of the explosive property of nitric compositions, primarily *nitroglycerine*, which, mingled with inert matter, became, in 1864, *dynamite*. The new *shattering* explosives, furnished by the nitric compositions, which are exploded by an instantaneous chemical combination, have a destructive force greatly superior to powder, whose explosion, produced by heat, is much slower. Mine-powder was replaced by dynamite, not only for submarine mines and torpedoes, but also in the work of blasting for the construction of roads. Gunpowder, which is still used, has been replaced for guns by the new smokeless powders, invented in 1870, in all the different countries independently; for artillery it has been replaced by compositions of nitric or picric acid, *melinite, roburite*, etc.

At the same time a revolution was introduced in the construction of arms. Guns were invented with central percussion and a prepared cartridge loaded at the breech. This has greatly increased the rapidity and slightly increased the accuracy of the shot. The first application of it was the needle-gun (Dreyse), adopted for the Prussian infantry as early as 1847, but only slowly imitated in the other countries. France clung to the muzzle-loader (Lefaucheux). It was only after the Prussian victories of 1866 that the breech-loader became, under various forms (Chassepot, Mauser, Martini), the weapon of all Europe. A parallel evolution in artillery produced breech-loading cannon (the English Armstrong gun in 1854), perfected in Germany (Krupp), and later steel cannon and howitzers, throwing shells by use of melinite. This revolution in arms was traceable to chemical discoveries. Smokeless powder, by increasing the explosive power, makes possible a lighter gun, a smaller ball, and a longer range. This was shown in the weapon improperly called the "Lebel gun."

All these new instruments of destruction, so much more efficacious than the old ones, have transformed the conditions of

warfare. The old fortified cities, incapable now of resistance, have lost their military rôle as defenders of the frontier. Nothing is of value now but intrenched camps, centres of supplies defended by a circle of detached forts. The use of great masses of soldiers, rendered impossible by quick-firing guns and shells, has given place to the manœuvre of isolated sharpshooters, who shelter themselves behind such cover as the field of action affords.

There has as yet been no experience to show the effect of this revolution in the art of war;* military men themselves cannot imagine what a war would be between two great European powers. But the idea of it is so frightful that it is enough to keep every government from taking the responsibility of it. The progress of the art of war has made war so hideous that no one dares to bring it on. The chemistry of explosives has worked in favour of peace.

In domestic policy the new arms have assured to the governments an irresistible force. No insurrection can be improvised now with chance weapons or by plundering the gunshops. A battle is impossible between sporting guns and military guns; no barricade can resist the new cannon. It is surely not a mere coincidence that revolutions and insurrections, so frequent in Europe until 1848, should have entirely ceased since the transformation in arms. A German socialist, Bebel, gave this explanation in 1890: "I have already told what the result of a revolution would be, carried on by 200,000 men at most, in this epoch of repeating guns and Maxim cannon; we should be miserably shot down like sparrows."

There is no longer any way to overturn a legal government, not even to defend a constitution against the executive power. The civil population has lost its only effective means of resistance to abuse of power by the government.

The art of revolutionary attempts has also been transformed by explosives. The old-fashioned "infernal machine," such as that used against Louis Philippe, has been replaced by dynamite bombs (Tsar Alexander in 1881). These terrifying methods have given isolated individuals a means of forcing public attention and taking on the appearance of a party; they have not added to the real power of the revolutionary parties, and have

*The transformation was only just beginning at the time of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and the Servo-Bulgarian War of 1885 employed only semi-European armies, ill trained and ill equipped.

probably lessened their chances of success. Popular indignation is excited by their destructive explosions, and in the troubled mind of the public all the revolutionary parties are held jointly responsible.

New Methods of Communication.—The revolution in methods of communication has transformed political life by three direct means: the telegraph, railroads, and newspapers.

One of the political difficulties in government had always lain in the slowness of communication; to issue an order from the central authority, to receive a report from local agents, the old means of transportation, courier or ship, were so slow that often an order did not arrive in time to be carried out. This weakened the influence of the central authority or even made it powerless: an ill-defined power had to be intrusted to the local agents, and even the diplomatic agents in distant countries had to be practically left to their own discretion. All hope of receiving information from these agents in season to exercise any control over them had to be given up.

Aërial telegraphy, as invented by Chappe, was regarded as a great advance, but it could transmit only a few messages and only on a clear day. Electrical telegraphy, established after 1850, enabled governments to keep themselves informed and to take instantaneous action at any distance. The effect was quickly felt in diplomacy, where the government, informed of the smallest episodes, assumed the management of all affairs, and reduced its agents to mere instruments of transmission. In domestic affairs the telegraph has greatly quickened the relations between government and agent, although there still exist in administration many survivals of the period before telegraphy was introduced, in the form of writings which have now become useless but which the governments have forgotten to suppress. The telegraph, by strengthening the action of the central power, has increased centralization.

Railroads have revolutionized the postal system, an institution of long standing, but hampered by difficulty in transmission; it has now at its disposal a means of transportation which allows indefinite increase in the volume of mail-matter and a wonderful decrease in the cost of postage. There were in Europe, in 1890, according to the statistics of the international postal service, 90,000 post offices, and they had handled 10,000,000,000 letters and packages. The railroads, roads, and post offices, by facilitating the movements of persons and letters, have greatly pro-

moted all branches of public service and political life. They have permitted the establishment of an administration which, by regular and continuous action, reaches the inhabitants of the most remote districts. They have caused the disappearance of the oases of barbarism which were preserved in Europe, even in the heart of the most civilized countries. The police system, organized everywhere on the model of the French *gendarmerie*, has finally succeeded, thanks to the network of roads, in suppressing highway robbery in Europe, even in the forest and mountain districts.

All the inhabitants have entered into public life by regular relations with the agents of justice, taxation, military recruiting, and administration. The new means of communication have brought the government close to those who pay its taxes or need the attention of its courts and administrative officers. Their relations have thus been made at once more efficacious and less onerous. The improved communications have also been of advantage to the political parties by facilitating the propagation of doctrine and the presence of their leaders at their gatherings all over the country.

The press has been revolutionized by machinery,—the steam press made in 1814 for the English *Times*, the composing machine, then the rotary press; these, by lessening the time necessary for the mechanical work, permit the production of an enormous number of copies in a very short time and at slight expense.* The daily political newspaper, which was a luxury reserved for *subscribers* of the middle class, has reached the masses as *buyers* of single copies. The governments systematically attempted to keep the papers from reaching the multitude, first by the stamp duty, contrived in England in the eighteenth century; then by the deposit-pledge, invented in France in 1819; or by a tax on paper. These fiscal devices were aided by prosecutions against the press and suppression through administrative channels, which during the reaction against the revolution of 1848 produced a very noticeable effect on the sale of papers. But the cheap newspaper, in spite of the hostility of the governments, has finally effected a definite entrance into the life of all Europe.†

* To show this reduction in time an American has calculated that what may now be done in one hour would formerly have taken 100 days (72,000 sheets).

† Complete figures for calculating this progression are wanting; but the yearly circulation, which in the large countries was counted by millions, is

Now the daily paper, by its incomparable powers of reaching the masses, is in modern society the instrument of publicity, not only for commerce, but for politics. For acts of government, laws, orders, and judicial decrees, the old methods of publishing by proclamation, posted notice, and announcement in the churches, have been replaced by insertion in the newspapers. The newspaper has made it useless to forbid the publication of ecclesiastical acts, and needless to use the right of petition, formerly one of the fundamental liberties. But everywhere the newspaper influences public opinion in two ways: it reports and discusses the acts of the government and also of its agents, thus furnishing the only effectual means of protest against abuse of power; it expounds and spreads opinions, the necessary condition for the formation of political parties.

As long as the newspaper was a luxury for the wealthy, the middle class had a monopoly of politics, control, and opposition; the rest of the population came into political life only by riots. A cheap press made it possible to introduce into this inert mass a current of propagandism and opposition, which aroused the political life of the people and started the evolution of politics in the direction of democracy.

Adding to the direct transformations of political life the minor services rendered to the cause of good order by the lighting of the streets and the photographing of dangerous persons, I think we have the complete list of direct changes in political conditions. The indirect transformations are more numerous, but less evident; it is hardly possible here to indicate any but the most important and the least contestable.

Transformation in Population.—The progress in industrial arts has produced an increase in the means of subsistence which has certainly contributed to the rapid and continuous growth of population all over Europe. The almost exact census organized by the governments permits a measurement of its importance. The population of Europe, estimated in 1800 at about 180,000,000, to-day exceeds 350,000,000.* The growth has been principally

now counted by hundreds of millions; the production has increased more than a hundredfold.

* The following table gives the comparative density per square kilometre, about one-third of a square mile, in 1820 and 1890:

Germany,	50	91	England and Wales,	80	192
Austria,	47	Cisleithania, 79 Transleithania, 54	France,	56	71
Belgium,	138	(in 1840) 206	Italy,	64	107

in the northern countries. The increase in the number of inhabitants does not necessarily influence political life in itself. There are now in the Orient, and perhaps were in the Middle Ages, very dense and very inert masses of population; the United States, with a density of 7 inhabitants, has a much more intense political life than British India, with its density of 88. The political importance of the increase of population in the nineteenth century has been confined chiefly to what it has done for the cities everywhere.

The cities in 1814 were hardly more than centres of supplies and administration for the landlords and peasants of the region; the majority of them were inhabited by small groups of office-holders, artisans, and tradesmen, and were placed, at wide intervals, among a rural population; very few exceeded a population of 50,000. The new industries, by bringing workmen together in thousands, and steam transportation, by creating an enormous international commerce all over the world, have given rise to a new population of workingmen and commercial employees. The old cities have grown with unprecedented rapidity; manufacturing villages have become large cities.* In certain manufacturing districts, notably in England, Germany, and Belgium, the population has become so dense as to almost cover the land. The proportion of the city population to the whole has increased, in France, from 24 per cent. in 1846 to 36 per cent. in 1886. England, the first country to enter upon this evolution, had already, in 1851, a city population of 51 per cent., and in 1890 79 per cent.

Now, the history of the nineteenth century shows the large cities and manufacturing districts all over Europe to have been centres of revolution and of opposition to the government and clergy; it is they particularly that have recruited the democratic parties. The increase in city population has certainly been one of the material conditions in the general evolution of Europe toward democracy.

Increase in Wealth.—Machinery, by bringing to the service of industry the unlimited forces of nature, has led to the production of a much greater number of objects in a shorter space of time,

* In 1880 there were in Europe 4 cities with a population exceeding 1,000,000; 6 between 1,000,000 and 500,000; 25 between 500,000 and 200,000; 40 between 200,000 and 100,000; in all 178 exceeding 50,000. The total population of the great cities exceeding 500,000 was 11,000,000; in 1890 it exceeded 14,000,000.

and consequently has caused goods to be sold at much lower prices.* Steam transportation has permitted Europe to import at low prices the raw materials and agricultural products of the whole world, while at the same time her own agriculture has been growing more productive by underdraining, rotation of crops, chemical fertilizers, and intensive cultivation. A parallel increase in the production of gold and silver has for a long time prevented a corresponding fall in prices.† But the increase in production and the increase in money have worked together, increasing the abundance of useful objects and the ease of procuring them. This is shown in two ways: increased consumption of goods and increased accumulation of capital.

The increase in comforts of life has been so rapid and has so profoundly altered social habits that it is difficult to imagine the simple life of the beginning of the century. The luxury of the wealthy has become almost a burden. But everywhere the increase in commodities has penetrated to the masses and relieved their condition. Many things that were formerly luxuries have become articles of general use: sugar, coffee, chocolate, linen, cotton and silk stuffs, wall-paper, ready-made clothing, furniture, windows, dishes, candles and lamps, books, newspapers, music, theatres, and pictures.

By a parallel evolution, filthy ways of living, which in the eighteenth century prevailed among all classes in all countries, have become a reproach among civilized people and no longer exist in Europe except in the south and east or in the poorest portion of the community. Cleanliness of body, linen, house, and food tend to become a moral obligation and begin to be spread by the schools into the remotest parts of the country. Public cleanliness comes with personal cleanliness; street sweeping, sewers, and drains, almost unknown in 1814, have become indispensable institutions in all the cities. A public feeling of

*The saving in labour and time varies greatly according to the industry. Taking as a measure the number of workmen which would have been formerly necessary to manufacture the quantity produced to-day by a single workman, the following estimates by experts give some idea of the difference:

Boots,	5 for 1	Weaving,	30 for 1
Hats,	6 "	Spinning,	1100 "
Printing,	about 1000 for 1		

†The great development of deposit banking, and the use of cheques and bank notes instead of coin, have perhaps done as much to prevent a fall of prices as has the increased production of the precious metals.

disgust and shame has compelled the clearing away of the infected dwellings and alleys in which the poor of the great cities had been allowed to bury themselves.

The manual labourer of to-day has as many opportunities for enjoyment and mental culture, as much refinement in his surroundings, as the lower middle class had in 1814. Also, he has been enabled to take part in politics without causing the reaction of barbarism which men of experience predicted and which seemed an invincible argument against universal suffrage.

Only a part of the abundance produced by the new industrial system has been consumed; the rest has become savings. It is impossible to express by figures the savings accumulated since 1814, even in a single country; * the estimates rest on a too uncertain and varying basis of conjectural reasoning. But it is certain that it represents a capital at least double the sum of the capital left by all past centuries. Of this new capital a part has served to buy the new stock of tools for manufacture and commerce, and is represented by the railroads and factories; the rest has been lent to the governments for war and armament, and is represented by government bonds.† This enormous mass of disposable capital has revolutionized the financial conditions of government; it has made possible an increase of taxation, expenditure, and debts in proportions which would formerly have seemed intolerable. It has also made it easy to undertake a war on credit and to pass on the debt to future generations. Thus have increased the economic power of the government and the influence of the representative assemblies invested with the management of these enormous budgets.

Transformation of Economic Life.—The quicker and cheaper methods of transportation have produced a revolution in the economic activity of civilized nations. Formerly, the labouring classes produced hardly enough for their own consumption or for the local market; the peasants did little selling and almost no buying; artisans laboured only for local clients. The larger industry of the time, and even the foreign commerce, were con-

* Mulhall estimates the whole savings of England, from 1815 to 1880, at $17,000,000,000, and the annual savings of the world at about $2,400,000,000.

† England's debt was already formed in 1814, amounting in 1820 to $4,200,000,000, and has since decreased. But for the whole of Europe national debts have increased from $6,800,000,000 in 1820 to $20,400,000,000 in 1881. The annual expenses of the central governments for all Europe have increased from $1,000,000,000 in 1830 to $3,000,000,000 in 1881.

fined almost entirely to articles of luxury made in certain factories and colonial products from over the sea. In the nineteenth century, by an evolution already begun in England between 1789 and 1814, producers, and even cultivators, have come to work no more for themselves or even for known customers, but only for the market, and not now the local market, but the market of the world.

The system of joint stock companies has developed rapidly in its application to large industrial enterprises, while the issues of government bonds have increased with the rapid increase of loans. Thus has been created an enormous quantity of new personal property, easily passed from one holder to another, and therefore forming a favourite subject of speculation.

The management of production has thus passed into the control of groups of speculators who direct the world's market, settle prices, order the goods to be produced, and determine the values of stocks and government bonds. The Commercial Exchange and the Stock Exchange have become the directing centres of the economic life of nations.*

This new power has effected a profound change in political conditions. The new aristocracy of personal wealth, bankers, manufacturers, and merchants, though held at arm's length by the old landed aristocracy, has made a place for itself in politics, by furnishing the mainstay of the liberal parties, and trying to guide the democratic mass of the nation. Lucrative industrial enterprises and large speculations depended directly on the state, in its action touching customs duties, loans, and concessions of public works; they depended indirectly on the press, by reason of its power of publicity. The financial aristocracy has tried to gain ascendency over the government, the legislative bodies, and the press. In what measure it has succeeded in the different countries of Europe is still a secret history which I have not attempted to relate. But the power of speculation over the political rulers of the states has certainly been one of the characteristics of the political life of the nineteenth century.

*The importance of the Stock Exchange is shown in the number of stocks of all sorts quoted on Exchange:

1815.	London, . .	30	Paris, . .	15	Berlin, . .	11
1877.	" . .	1307	" . .	553	" . .	613

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CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CHURCH AND THE CATHOLIC PARTIES.

The Church before the Revolution.—The political history of the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century is the history of the relations between Church authority and lay authorities.* To understand the conflicts which have filled the century, one must know how the question stands between the governments and the clergy, and what powers they dispute. But it is hardly possible to realize the position of the clergy in contemporary society without reviewing the organization of the Church before the Revolution.

The principle of all Christian nations since the Middle Ages was that all Christian society must obey at once two authorities: the lay sovereign governs the body, the church sovereign the soul; they share the power and mutually support each other. The right of governing souls implies, to enforce obedience, a material power; so the Church demanded a share of public authority.

The Church had need of absolute independence to fulfil its divine mission. It must therefore, like the state, form a body capable of being sufficient to itself, what is called a "complete society" (*societas perfecta*). It had its organization parallel with that of the state: its sovereign power (the Pope and council), its officials (the clergy organized in a hierarchical body), its laws and its legal principles, decreed by itself (the canons and canon

*The technical term for these is *relations of church and state*. A Church history would give an opportunity to study the relations of the different churches with the state in the various countries of Europe. The Protestant and Orthodox Greek churches, being national churches subordinated to the lay sovereign, have no common political history. There may be from one country to another personal relations and sympathies between the members of the same church; but there is no international Protestant or Orthodox *party*, because these churches have no general organization. The Catholic Church alone, being universal, forms an international body directed by a single head, independent of all the governments. Its members, whose bond of union is superior to the dividing lines of states, are grouped in international Catholic parties.

law), its ecclesiastical courts, its procedure and its prisons, its domains and its taxes (the tithes); it had the power to give commands and inflict punishments on its subjects.

All laymen were members of the Church and subject to the clergy in religious matters. The clergy regulated matters of faith, worship, and morals; they prescribed all that laymen should believe, say, and do, and their orders were obligatory. They dispensed the sacraments with a sovereign hand, including marriage, one of the chief acts of private life. They kept the registers of births and deaths. They directed schools and education, hospitals, and public charities. They supervised speech and writings and subjected publications to their censorship.

The practice of religion, being an obligation of public interest, must be imposed on all laymen, even by force, just as respect for decency and good order was imposed on them. As the Church has no physical means of constraint, the state lent its strength. The clergy decreed the religious duties to be imposed on the faithful, denounced omissions, and pronounced condemnations. The government offered its services in enforcing decisions; it forced the monks and nuns to fulfil their vows; it forced laymen to obey the clergy, to practice their religion regularly, to attend the services, to fast, to confess, to be married and buried by the clergy, and to have their children instructed in religious matters. It forbade the books condemned by Church censorship, and executed the judgments of the Church courts.

In every Catholic country there existed a compact between Church and state, with three conditions: 1. independent organization of the clergy; 2. power of the clergy to issue orders to all laymen; 3. assistance of the lay government in maintaining Church authority. In this *régime* members of the clergy were free from lay authority; the government could not impose on clerks any temporal charge, either tax or military service—not even the obligation to appear before its courts. On the contrary, members of the government, as members of the Church, were subject to the religious authority of the clergy; they must place themselves at its service to carry out its orders. The division of power into *spiritual* and *temporal* did not even assure to the lay power a share of independent sovereignty, for the clergy alone drew the dividing lines between the two domains and decided which affairs belonged within its own. Thus the clergy gave orders, but received none. It was the theory formulated by Boniface in the bull *Unam Sanctam:* Christ has instituted two

swords—the one spiritual, belonging to the Church, the other temporal, belonging to the princes; but the princes must wield their sword according to the wish of the Pope; it is a Manichean heresy to recognise an independent lay power side by side with the ecclesiastical power, for every human being is subject to the Pontiff. The Church is superior to the state.

In practice, however, laymen had imposed an inverse system on the Church. The government, even in the states which had remained Catholic, had subordinated the Church to the state.* The clergy no longer form an independent body; they are subject to lay taxes and courts. They have no longer their self-governing organization; the prelates, heads of the clergy, are chosen by the lay government. They have not retained even their sovereignty in religious matters; the government has imposed on them a supervision which is expressed in similar forms throughout the great Catholic states: the *placet*, the government authorization required before publishing any decision by the Church authorities; the *exequatur*, the government confirmation necessary for the execution of an order; the *recursus ab abusu*, the right of the lay courts to break through an ecclesiastical sentence.

This system did not do away with compulsory Church authority; the state continued to force its subjects to practice religion and obey the clergy. But in a number of states the religious contests which followed the Reformation had led to compromises contradictory to the fundamental principle of the Catholic Church, unity of faith. The government permitted laymen to substitute the practice of another religion for that of Catholicism; Catholic believers remained subject to clerical authority, while non-Catholics were exempt from it. This system took two forms: *Toleration*, or "private exercise of religion," maintained the superiority of the State Church and simply *tolerated* the other religions in an inferior position; this was the system which had prevailed in Austria since Joseph II., and in France since Louis XVI. *Parity*, practised in the German states and in Hun-

*In Protestant as well as Orthodox states, the sovereign has become the official head of the Church; this is *Cæsaropapism*. The Reformation did not establish liberty of conscience; but in breaking up the Church it established little churches too weak to maintain their authority, churches in which the clergy have become the servants of the lay power. The government, subject to the absolute will of the lay sovereign, has gradually become indifferent to religion and has finally become a lay state. In this sense the Reformation prepared the way for revolution.

gary, consisted in maintaining several state churches side by side, equally supported by the government, and each obligatory for its own members (this system was combined with toleration for unrecognised creeds). Spain and Italy alone preserved Catholic unity and official intolerance.* The others had adopted the system of toleration and superiority of the lay power.

Meanwhile the governments, to make the Catholic clergy still more dependent on the lay sovereign, had diminished the authority of the ecclesiastical sovereign, the Pope. A number of Catholic states even attempted to establish a national Church, joined to the universal Church by the ties of a common faith, but with a distinct national organization and its own particular form of liturgy; examples are the *Gallican* Church in France, the doctrine of Febronius in Germany, and in Austria *Josephism.*

Thus, from the period of "enlightened despotism" the Church preserved its privileges, estates, and endowments, exemption from military service for the clergy, special system of taxation, and pre-eminence marked by honours and precedence in ceremonies; it even retained an effective authority, supervision over the conduct of laymen, censorship of books, the control of marriage and records of vital statistics. It was still a system of collaboration between government and clergy. But the churchmen had descended to the rank of officials under the lay power. The Pope alone, at once the head of the Church and a temporal prince, remained an independent sovereign and maintained in the Catholic Church an independent spiritual authority, at least in matters of faith and worship. His political influence, however, was weakened.

The Revolution in the Church.—The old church system, greatly shaken by the Reformation, was overturned by the Revolution. The Republican party, which controlled the French Convention of 1792 and the Directory, adopted a radical solution already tried in the United States. They established the exclusive preponderance of the lay power in society, and systematically destroyed all that remained of the official Church institution, all the powers of the clergy over the faithful in matters of con-

* The Protestant countries were divided in like manner between these three systems: England and the Netherlands had tolerance and Prussia parity, while the Scandinavian countries tolerated none but the Lutheran Church. The Orthodox countries retained in principle compulsory religion and Church unity; in the Ottoman Empire the Sultan imposed the belief which it pleased him to recognise, and in the Russian Empire the Tsar had guaranteed the preservation of the Church of each country annexed.

duct, education, and civil records. The Revolution had deprived the Church of its courts, tithes, estates, all its honorary privileges, and even cancelled its religious vows. Religion became a purely personal matter, freed from all outside authority; the clergy lost all means of material constraint, even over Church members. All public institutions, marriage, registration, education, charity, and burials, were made independent of the Church; there remained nothing but lay power. This marks the complete separation of Church and state, the complete indifference of the government in religious matters, the absolute liberty and equality of all creeds—a system directly opposed to that of the Middle Ages.

Napoleon I. restored the system of "enlightened despotism" and the Gallican Church. By the Concordat with the Pope he recognised the Church as an official institution; he officially restored the clerical hierarchy and granted it its official honours, a state appropriation, exemption from military service, and the right of having colleges. But to this restored clergy he granted no authority over laymen, no control of civil records, no censorship, nor supervision of schools, no material power over its members, no compulsory vows nor means of coercion. He left them not even the internal liberty accorded to every private religious society where the separation of Church and state is established. He made them subject to the lay government as a body of office-holders, and revived the old royal powers over the Gallican Church. This was the Gallican Church, with all its subjection to lay authority, but without its authority over individuals.

Of the old church system Napoleon had restored only the forms and the supervising power of the lay government. Of the Revolution he preserved the fundamental principle, religious liberty and equality, and the withdrawal of all public authority from the clergy. For the government this was the system of "enlightened despotism," for individuals it was the system of the Revolution. The form of the Concordat concealed this revolutionary character by recognising in the Church the right to treat with the state. But to this Concordat, concluded in the form of a treaty between two powers, Napoleon added the *organic articles*. These were simple laws, the exclusive work of the lay power, which, in spite of protests from the Pope, regulated, in a sense contrary to canon law, the "general relations of the Church with state laws and police." They imposed on the Church the old forms of lay supremacy: appeal to the Council

of State on questions of clerical powers, government authorization for publishing papal acts, for sending nuncios, holding councils, establishing festivals, and creating parishes.

The Concordat, or a similar system, was extended to all the states under the rule or influence of Napoleon, that is, all the Catholic states except Austria and Portugal. It overturned the organization of the Catholic Church in Europe and simplified the relations between Church and state. In all the countries, the Church, while fully preserving the character of an official state institution, was deprived of every means of constraint and treated as a dependency of the government. It was weakened at the same time by systematic secularizations, which abolished the old religious orders and Church estates; in Germany the lay princes suppressed the states of the ecclesiastical princes, with over 3,000,000 inhabitants, and divided them among themselves. Napoleon himself annexed the Papal States to his Empire.

The Restoration of the Church.—The Allies, after defeating Napoleon, restored the Papal States to the Pope, with the exception of Avignon. But this was the only ecclesiastical state that was restored. The Church, having been part of the old *régime*, had been overturned by the Revolution, but it was re-established by the Restoration. The restored lay sovereigns restored the Church organization. It was for them a conscientious duty to set up the legitimate Church again at the same time as the legitimate monarchy, and an act of conservative policy to restore the naturally conservative authority of the clergy. The Legitimists demanded "the union of throne and altar," the alliance of government and clergy. This was the theory of the legitimist school, Chateaubriand, de Maistre, Haller, and Schlegel; it was put in practice by the governments. The two powers, menaced by the Revolution, saw their common interest, and joined hands to fight the common enemy.

Relations between the two powers were, however, regulated in different ways. The Pope made full restoration in his states; he restored the convents that had been suppressed by the Revolution, and even, abandoning a decision that had been enforced by the former monarchies, restored the Jesuit Society, by a solemn bull,* in April, 1814, without consulting the governments.

* This society, abolished by the Pope in 1773, had in reality been perpetuated in non-Catholic states, Russia and Prussia, and under another name, *Fathers of the Faith*, in the Catholic states. It had already been re-established in the Kingdom of Sicily.

The absolutist monarchies of Spain and Portugal, and those of Italy, except for the Austrian provinces and Tuscany, also returned to the old ecclesiastical system. They restored unity of faith (compulsory Catholicism), Church courts, tithes, Church estates, religious orders, and clerical control of marriage and registration.

The two great Catholic monarchies preserved state control of the Church and religious liberty. Austria preserved *Josephism* with toleration, France the Napoleonic Concordat with equality of creeds. They restored neither compulsory unity of faith, nor independence of the Church; France did not even restore the religious orders nor the Church domains that the Revolution had destroyed. The Pope protested against the Charter,* an exclusively lay document in which there was no mention of the Catholic Church, "not even of the name of God"; against Article 22, which established "liberty of creed and conscience" and "promised protection to ministers of what are called the *denominations*," putting "on a level with heretical sects and even Jewish perfidy the Holy Spouse of Christ, the Church outside of which there could be no salvation"; against Article 23, on the press, "liberty which threatens morals and faith."

In Germany, the Church of the times before the Revolution was not restored; not only the ecclesiastical principalities, but the convents, remained suppressed. The plan of a single regulation for the whole Confederation fell through. A new Church with new districts was established by special agreement between the Pope and the government of each state. Bavaria alone gave to this agreement the form of a concordat (1817); it recognised in the Church the "rights and privileges which appertain to it by divine order and canon law," but the Concordat was promulgated with an edict similar to Napoleon's organic articles, which, in spite of the protests of the Pope, guaranteed religious liberty. In the other German states, the Church was organized by a series of papal bulls concerted with the governments. Everywhere the government preserved its power over the Church, and even continued, as in the eighteenth century, to interfere in the regulating of details in purely Church matters, liturgy, festivals, and pilgrimages.

The Restoration re-established only an impoverished and subordinated Church.

* This was really against the constitution drafted by the Senate, but the incriminated articles passed into the Charter. See p 231 for a similar protest against the constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The Ultramontane Party.—From the crisis of the Revolution the Church emerged transformed in spite of herself. While everyone thought her enfeebled she found herself fortified. The clergy of the eighteenth century, with its aristocratic and imperfectly centralized constitution, had many privileges and apparent authority; yet it had little activity and little influence on society. The cultivated classes did not obey it, and over the masses its influence remained local; without unity of aim. Each great state had its National Church, practically almost independent of the Pope and subject to the government.

The bishops, those princes of the Church who were really lay nobles, and the old religious orders, holders of great estates, were swept away by the crisis. Instead of these instruments of aristocracy and decentralization, bishops of democratic origin, fresh from the seminaries, became the heads of the clergy; the religious orders of Roman origin were devoted to the Pope, especially the Jesuits, and they took charge of preaching and education. The seminaries were reorganized according to the decrees of the Council of Trent; the dogma of the supremacy of the Pope, taught to new generations, became once more the fundamental doctrine touching the organization of the Church.

The National Churches, established after the weakening of the papacy in the fourteenth century, and maintained in spite of the restoration effected by the Council of Trent, had still supporters who tried to resist this new restoration of the papal power; the governments supported them in contempt of the Pope. The conflict that divided the Catholics into two parties, national and pontifical, was especially sharp in France. The National Church there took the form of a doctrine, the "maxims of the Gallican Church" of 1682; Napoleon had declared these obligatory (the *organic articles*, among the "cases of abuse" of clerical authority, enumerated "attempts against the liberties, immunities, and customs of the Gallican Church"). The old struggle was reopened between the *Gallicans* and *Ultramontanes*. The Gallicans rested on the lay power. Even after the Restoration the King, the ministers, and the administrative staff remained Gallicans; churchmen in positions of control were Gallicans, the headmaster of Frayssinous University, the Superior of St. Suplice, the archbishops of Paris; the Jesuits were expelled, as supporters of papal sovereignty, and their order continued to be regarded as abolished, in spite of the Bull of 1814. But the Ultramontanes gradually won the mass of the clergy and

the faithful. A similar conflict and evolution, though less marked, occurred in Germany. The result was to replace the former aristocratic national clergy, half officials of the state, by a democratic clergy subject to an international ecclesiastical monarchy, the Papacy. The government of the Catholic world was definitely centralized at Rome. The Church had lost in wealth and official authority, but she gained in force of centralization. Meanwhile new orders were being established, and new convents, particularly of women; these, by means of legacies and gifts, began once more to build up ecclesiastical estates.

In Rome the Pope was struggling against his spiritual and temporal adversaries. Pius VII. condemned the Bible Societies which were spreading translations of the Bible. Leo XII. (1823-29) prosecuted particularly the secret societies: the *Carbonari*, who were labouring to establish Italian unity, and consequently to destroy the temporal power of the Pope; also the *Free Masons*, who attacked unity of the faith by demanding religious liberty. Then began that bitter contest between the Holy See and the Free Masons, which was to fill the nineteenth century with polemics.

The Liberal Catholic Party.—The constant tendency of the Catholic clergy had been to rest on authority in order to make the true religion obligatory and maintain *unity of faith;* the Pope's doctrine, formulated in his declarations, condemned liberty of religion and of the press. But Catholics were drawn into the movement toward liberalism which brought reforms and revolutions to England, Switzerland, France, and Belgium. About 1828 a new Liberal Catholic party appeared which tried to reconcile the new liberal doctrines with the traditional power of the Church. Instead of asking privileges for the clergy and government assistance against the opponents of their religion, they confined themselves to demanding for the Church that liberty of common law which the liberal system accorded to simple individuals, the right of association, the right to acquire property, to found educational and charitable institutions. The Church, in possession of the truth, had no need of coercive power; liberty would be sufficient to enable her to undertake the direction of society, through education, preaching, and the manifestation of her virtues and moral superiority.

The movement began in three countries, Ireland, Belgium, and France, whose governments, either Protestant or Gallican, allowed the Catholic clergy less liberty of action than the liberal

doctrine allowed to private associations, and where simple liberty for the Church represented an increase of power. The Liberal Catholics conducted the campaign simultaneously in the three countries; their leaders were in personal communication.

In Ireland, O'Connell, in the name of liberty, demanded and obtained (1829) the repeal of the Test Act and the admission of Catholics to civil equality. In Belgium the Liberal Catholics, in the name of liberty, aided in the revolt against Holland and secured the Constitution of 1831. This granted to the clergy complete liberty as in America, and at the same time preserved to them their privileges as in Europe. In France the party was merely a group of young men. Their leader, Abbé Lamennais, had protested against the expulsion of the Jesuits (1829): "We demand for the Catholic Church the liberty promised by the Charter to all religions, the liberty which is extended to Protestants and Jews. . . We want liberty of conscience, of the press, and of education, and that is what the Belgians, too, are demanding." Lacordaire demanded American liberty. The party was small and had no influence with the government, but it excited public opinion through its organ, the *Avenir*, founded in August, 1830, and by the declarations of Montalembert, peer of France. He demanded liberty of education, that is, the right to establish Catholic schools. Later they went on to reject the concordat, which gave the choice of bishops to the enemies of Catholicism, and to demand the separation of Church and state.

The Liberal Catholics, in accepting liberty, did not give up the direction of morals, education, and charities; but they declared that these things, not being within the domain of the state, must be cared for by the individual citizen, who had the right to hand over the control of them to the clergy. In the Church they recognised the supreme and absolute power of the Pope; they were *Ultramontanes*, opposed to the National Churches, although the ill-informed French public often made Liberal the synonym for Gallican and the opposite of Ultramontane. But the doctrine of liberty, as opposed to unity of the faith, was never accepted by the court of Rome. Gregory XVI. (1830-46) condemned the Belgian constitution as Pius VII. had condemned the French *Charte*, because it recognised liberty of religion and of the press; he condemned the Liberal Catholics of France in the encyclical *Mirari Vos* (August, 1832).*

* Among the "causes of the evils that afflict the Church" it specified *indifferentism*, or that perverse idea spread about through the dishonesty

In spite of the condemnation, the Liberal party took charge of the Catholic movement in the constitutional states, and continued to demand the liberties necessary to the Church.* The establishment of the constitutional monarchy in Portugal and in Spain destroyed practical unity of faith in those states and introduced actual toleration, secularized almost all the Church estates, and suppressed almost all the monasteries.

The Liberal movement appeared later in Italy, with the *risorgimento;* it took mainly the form of *clerico-liberal societies,* formed by priests to establish at once liberty and national unity. One of the writers of the *risorgimento,* Gioberti, was a priest. Pius IX., elected against the candidate of the Austrian party, passed for the Pope of the Liberal party, and his election at first seemed the definite triumph of the Liberal Catholics (1846).

The Catholic Democracy and the Revolution of 1848.—The Catholics began to feel the effects of a new political movement, the movement toward democracy, which ended in the revolutions of 1848. As before 1830 a Liberal Catholic party had been formed in all the states, so before 1848 a democratic Catholic

of wicked men that eternal salvation of the soul may be secured by a profession of any sort of faith, provided that one conforms in morals to the prevalent ideas of justice and decency. . . From the fetid sources of this indifferentism flows that ridiculous and erroneous idea, or rather that madness, that we must procure and guarantee for everybody liberty of conscience, an error . . . for which the way is smoothed by that complete and immoderate freedom of opinion . . . out of which some, in an excess of imprudence, pretend that some good may come to religion. . . With this is connected that liberty of the press, the worst of all, which can never be sufficiently execrated and cursed. . . There are, however, men carried away by imprudence to the point of maintaining obstinately that the deluge of errors which arises from it is sufficiently compensated by some book that is published . . . for the defence of religion and truth. . . Is it possible that a man of sense could say that . . . poisons should be put on public sale, because there are remedies which may snatch from death?" The Encyclical recalls the services rendered by the *Index* and condemns the doctrine of those who not only reject censorship of books . . . but go so far as to declare that it is contrary to the principles of justice and dare to refuse to the Church the right to establish and enforce it." Then, recalling the disastrous revolutions produced by heretics, it adds: "We cannot expect happier results for religion and the lay power from the desires of those who wish to separate Church and state and break the union of priesthood and empire, for it is an established fact that lovers of unbridled liberty dread this union, which has always been salutary both for Church and state."

* See for Ireland p. 54, for Belgium p. 245, for France p. 49.

party was formed in the democratic countries. It began where the democratic revolution had been first made, in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. It was an Ultramontane party, attached to the sovereignty of the Pope; at Freiburg it enlisted the Jesuits; at Lucerne, when it had obtained possession of the government, it submitted the new constitution of the canton for the approval of Gregory XVI. It was a party of unity of the faith, hostile to the doctrine of religious liberty. But, while preserving the old doctrines, it adopted new lines of action which practically changed the relations of the clergy with the political body, in countries where Catholicism is not the state religion. The Church, without theoretically condemning any form of government, had hardly ever actually allied itself except with princes and aristocracies. Its own organization is a monarchical hierarchy, in which all authority comes from above, by virtue of a mystical right, and is exercised without control over a body of subjects. In the democratic republics of Switzerland, based on the sovereignty of the people and government by elective officers, the authority was, on the contrary, delegated from below. Between these two opposing systems the Catholic party found a practical reconciliation. The representatives of the sovereign people, masters by election of the sovereign lay power, subjected themselves voluntarily, as Catholics, to the sovereign spiritual power of the Pope and left him judge of the limits between the two powers. In this system of revolutionary origin, the Church recovered indirectly a higher authority than in the monarchies; for the Pope, instead of having to treat with an hereditary sovereign, accustomed to command, found only submissive sons of the Church, accustomed to obey. He became once more the supreme arbiter in settling the relations between Church and state.

But to make good this new power, the old means of ecclesiastical influence were no longer sufficient. Democratic processes must be adopted: electoral and parliamentary organization, and the press; parliamentary Catholic parties were organized, Catholic committees and Catholic newspapers were established. Then began also new difficulties. The majority of Catholic members and journalists were laymen. This was a new power in the direction of Catholic interests; between them and the official heads of the Church, bishops and priests, rivalries in influence and divergencies in opinion led to conflicts of a new sort. The Pope, called upon to end them by his sovereign authority, was

to be led to interfere more and more in the current politics of Catholic countries and to take the part of a leader of a political party.

This democratic evolution was suddenly accelerated by the revolutions of 1848. These were lay and democratic revolutions, made in the name of the lay sovereignty of the people and absolute liberty, usually with a sentiment of good-will for the clergy. They did not destroy the institutions of the Church, but they proclaimed the principle of the complete liberty of creed and tended to laicize public institutions. In France, where the state was already completely lay, the official organization of the Church remained the same, but universal suffrage gave the clergy a political influence which became the most active force of the Conservative party. In Italy the governments were content to set up the principle of religious liberty, and Catholicism remained the privileged state religion. In the German countries the revolution introduced the Belgian system of Church liberty. The Frankfort Parliament adopted an article which passed finally into the Constitution of Prussia: "Every religious society regulates and administers its affairs in an independent manner, but remains . . . subject to the laws of the state." The German bishops met at Wurzburg in October, 1848, and demanded the abolition of the subjection imposed on the Church (*placet*, prohibition of correspondence with the Holy See, appeal to the courts against clerical decrees). The revolution in Prussia and Austria resulted in abolishing the *placet* and state supervision. In the other German states the regulations were made only slowly, in the midst of complicated conflicts.

Reaction in the Church.—The Revolution of 1848 made a deep impression on Pius IX.; he consented to liberty granted under a paternal government, but his subjects wanted to impose on him a constitutional liberty and to limit his power legally. He broke with the Liberal party. Driven from Rome by the revolutionists, he returned a partisan of the absolutist system, determined to fight the revolution with the aid of the governments, and convinced that the temporal power of the Pope was the necessary barrier against revolution.*

*The Encyclical *Nostis et Nobiscum* to the bishops of Italy (December 8, 1849), after condemning *socialism* and *communism*, declares that "the successor of Peter, the Roman Pontiff, possesses supreme authority (*primatum*) over the whole world; he is the true vicar of Christ, head of the whole Church, father and teacher of all Christians. The easiest way

In all the states, the revolution was followed by a reaction; the lay governments, as after the Restoration, made alliance with the Church authorities and by a more methodical alliance than in 1814. The socialist movement of 1848 had alarmed the middle classes and decided them to appeal to the Conservative power of the clergy.* Irreligion, which had gone out of fashion among the nobility after the Revolution of 1793, went out of fashion in the middle classes after the Revolution of 1848; in all the Catholic countries † religion became, and has remained, a worldly obligation, a part of good education and the fashion of good society. The Catholic party used these conditions to increase the power of the clergy. In France it secured the liberty of secondary education and Catholic primary schools (1850). Later, under Napoleon III., it gained the favour of the government. In Prussia the state resigned to the bishops the control of their clergy and their colleges (see p. 491). In the small German states a series of long and complicated negotiations succeeded in establishing a similar system. In Austria the Holy See secured the abandonment of Josephism in 1850, then the Concordat of 1855, the first in which the government of a great state recognised that the Church held its rights, not as a concession from the lay power, but "by divine institution and canon law." State criminal juris-

to keep the nations in the profession of the Catholic faith is to keep them in the communion and in obedience to the Pope. The modern enemies of God and of human society also do their utmost to draw away the Italian peoples from obedience to us." As for the princes, "they see that the diminution of the authority of the bishops and the increasing contempt for divine and Church precepts that are violated with impunity have equally diminished the obedience of the people to lay authority and opened to the enemies of public peace an easier means of inciting sedition against the prince. They also see that by seizing, confiscating, and publicly selling temporal property lawfully belonging to the Church, respect for property consecrated to a religious purpose has been weakened among the people, who are thus disposed to listen more readily to the partisan of *socialism* and *communism*, threatening to seize and divide or make common other forms of property."

* Louis Veuillot, director of the Catholic paper the *Univers*, thus formulated the policy of Thiers, head of the Orleanist-Catholic coalition: "He would like to-day to fortify the party of smug and thorough-going revolutionists, of which he is the leader, by a body of gendarmes in cassocks, on account of the manifest insufficiency of the others."

† A similar evolution has taken place in the Protestant countries, especially in England. In the Orthodox countries of eastern Europe, religious indifference has remained the fashion in cultivated society.

diction over the clergy was represented simply as a concession from the Pope "out of consideration for the conditions of the time." A similar concordat had been concluded in Spain in 1851. Meanwhile the Pope secured the right to institute officially bishoprics and ecclesiastical districts in the Protestant countries—in England in 1850, and in Holland in 1853. Throughout Europe the period of reaction from 1849 to 1859 was used to increase the power of the Catholic parties in almost all the countries. The Kingdom of Sardinia alone has, since 1850, undertaken to laicize her institutions and enter into open conflict with the Holy See (see p. 348).

In addition to these partial restorations, Pius IX. laboured to effect a general restoration of Catholic society, according to the plan indicated in his official acts and commented on by his official organ, the *Civilta Catolica* (Catholic Civilization), founded in 1850. He began with an act of doctrinal sovereignty proclaiming the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, the favourite doctrine of the Franciscans and Jesuits, but rejected by the Dominicans. After asking the advice of the bishops and receiving 576 answers, almost all affirmative, he solemnly promulgated the dogma in the Sistine chapel on the 8th of December—a day chosen for a mystical reason and ever afterward consecrated to the great acts of his pontificate. He promulgated it without a meeting of the council by virtue of his pontifical authority, thus affirming the right of the Pope to define, by his own act, the faith of the Catholic Church (1854).

He then called together a congregation to prepare a complete exposition of his doctrine on the rôle of the Church in modern society and to draw up the catalogue of contemporary errors; it worked five years, and made the plan which served as the doctrinal manifesto of 1864.

While Pius IX. was preparing his doctrinal exposition, the Sardinian government established the Kingdom of Italy, deprived the Pope of a part of his states, and announced its intention of making Rome the capital of the new kingdom. Pius IX. treated the annexation of the States of the Church as a robbery. The destruction of the temporal power, even though accomplished by a monarchy, was to him a most shocking case of *Revolution*. He thought himself back in 1848, all the more so because the Italian monarchical government worked in harmony with the revolutionists of 1848, with Garibaldi, one of the triumvirs of the Roman Republic. Pius IX. therefore condemned the new *Revo-*

lution and excommunicated all those who had "taken part in the criminal invasion of his provinces.*

The Encyclical "Quanta Cura" and the Syllabus (1864).—When France, by the September Convention, consented to withdraw the troops which defended the Pope at Rome, Pius IX., indignant, decided to publish his plan for the reconstruction of society, December 8, 1864. He gave it the form of an encyclical to Christendom, followed by a "catalogue (syllabus) of modern errors" which he had previously condemned.

The *Quanta Cura* set forth in definite form the fundamental conception of the Pope, already explained in the *Civilta Catolica:* Catholic civilization, so prosperous during the Middle Ages, had been successively enfeebled by Lutheranism, Jansenism, Voltairanism, and socialism; society has been organized in a heterodox spirit, it must be reconstructed from the bottom on legitimate authority.

The Encyclical began by recalling the fact that the office of the Pope is to preserve the faithful from heresies and errors. Pius IX. had already condemned "the principal errors of our most unhappy epoch" (*tristissimæ nostræ ætatis*), and "the monstrous opinions which predominate everywhere in our time . . . and from which almost all the other errors have their origin."

The fundamental error is "naturalism" (*naturalismus*), the idea "that the best organization of government and civil progress demand absolutely that human society shall be constituted and governed without taking any more account of religion than if it did not exist, or at least without making a distinction between

* The apostolical letter of March 26, 1860, expounds the doctrine of the temporal power. "The Catholic Church, founded by Christ, . . . has secured by virtue of her divine institution the form of a perfect society; she should, therefore, enjoy so full liberty that in the exercise of her sacred ministry she should never be subjected to any lay power. It is therefore by a special decree of Providence, that the Pope, established by Christ as the head and centre of his whole Church, has acquired the temporal power. The divine wisdom has willed that in such a crowd of temporal princes the Sovereign Pontiff shall enjoy that political authority which is necessary to the exercise of his spiritual power, authority, and jurisdiction. It was agreed that the Catholic world should have no occasion to suspect that this See can be, as head of the Church universal, influenced by the temporal powers or drawn away by parties." A letter of 1863 condemns churchmen who "attack the temporal power of the Holy See" and "dare to establish wholly objectionable societies called Clerical Liberals, Mutual Aid, Deliverer of the Italian Clergy, (*clerico-liberali, Di mutuo soccorso, Emancipatrice del clero italiano*)."

the true religion and false religions; further, "that the best system is that in which the government is not empowered to visit punishment on violators of the Catholic religion except so far as the public may require." (The idea that the government must be founded on natural motives and remain a stranger to religion is really historically the foundation of the English constitutional system and of the modern lay state; it has resulted in withdrawing from the clergy every means of material constraint, leaving them only a moral authority. It is contrary to the *unity of faith*, the fundamental doctrine of the Church. It implies the mental reservation that the different religions * are of sufficiently equal value to make it possible to leave each man to choose one for himself.)

"From this absolutely false idea of society and government" arises the error, "set down as *madness* by Gregory XVI.," that "liberty of conscience and of creed is the right of every man, and may be proclaimed and admitted into every well-constituted society, and that citizens are entitled to full liberty of publishing and maintaining their opinions through the press or otherwise without restraint from any civil or ecclesiastical authority." Now, this is "a fatal liberty, for if free discussion of human opinion is always allowed, there will always be people who dare to resist the truth." (Liberty of conscience and of the press is in fact irreconcilable with *unity of faith;* historically it was first established in countries torn by religious revolutions.)

When "religion has been discarded from civil society . . . the idea of justice and law" is lost; the immediate consequence is that "the will of the people, as manifested by public opinion or any other means, constitutes the supreme law independently of every divine and human right, and that in political order accomplished facts . . . have the force of law." It is thus that the religious orders were abolished. After religion had been driven out of society, it was to be excluded from the family, by civil marriage and lay schools. (It is a fact that the sovereignty of the people has not been historically admitted except in those countries which no longer recognise the sovereignty of the Church; it has led to civil marriage and neutrality of the public school.)

* The errors of *indifferentism* and latitudinarianism are mentioned in the Syllabus in these terms: "Man may in the creed of any religion find the road to eternal salvation and secure eternal salvation. Every man is free to embrace and to profess the religion which he believes to be true, conducted by the light of reason."

In political matters it is an "error to say that the supreme authority intrusted by Christ to the Church and the Holy See is subject to civil authority, and to deny all the rights of the Church and the Holy See in those things which belong to the outside world," by declaring that "the Papal Acts and decrees relative to religion and the Church must have the consent of the civil power, and that the Church has not the right to visit those who violate its laws with temporal punishments.* This *régime* rests on "the heretical principle" that "the ecclesiastical power is not, by divine law, distinct and independent of the civil power." (This is in fact the principle of the Protestant states and of *Cæsaro-papism.* The "Catholic dogma" is, on the contrary, that "the full power was divinely conferred by Christ on the Pope, to tend, rule, and govern the universal Church." It follows from it that "the Church must form an independent society."

Thus to the lay state founded on religious liberty and the supremacy of the civil power, the Encyclical opposes the ideal of the Catholic state founded on the complete independence of the ecclesiastical power and compulsory unity of faith.

The *Syllabus,* (catalogue) "of the principal errors of our times, set forth in consistorial addresses, encyclicals, and other apostolical letters of Pope Pius IX.," reproduced in a summary form all the doctrines condemned by him. They are numbered, from 1 to 80, and grouped in logical order, beginning with errors of theory under the following titles: I. *Pantheism, naturalism, and absolute rationalism.* II. *Moderate rationalism.* These are philosophic opinions. III. *Indifferentism, latitudinarianism.* This is the theory of liberty of conscience (see p. 693). *IV. Socialism, communism, Bible societies, Clerico-Liberals.* V. *Errors concerning the Church and its rights.* These are the theory of clerical subordination to the lay power,† and the practice of toleration. VI.

* The end of the Encyclical recommends the bishops to teach laymen that "royal power is not conferred simply for the government of the world, but especially for the protection of the Church," and orders prayers for God's aid "in so great calamities of the Church and civil society, in such a conspiracy of enemies, and in so great a mass of errors against Catholic society and the Holy See."

† "19. The Church is not a true and completely free society, it does not enjoy its proper and constant rights, conferred by its divine founder, but it belongs to the civil power to define the rights of the Church and the extent of those rights. 20. Ecclesiastical power may not exercise its authority without the permission of the civil government. 24. The Church has not the right to employ force; it has no temporal power, either direct

Errors concerning civil society considered either by itself or in its relations with the Church. These are the theory of the state's right to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs (*exequatur, recursus ab abusu,* seminaries, religious vows, congregations) * and the theory of lay education.† VII. *Errors concerning natural and Christian morality.* These are the theory of lay morality, the value of the accomplished fact, the principle of non-intervention. VIII. *Errors concerning Christian marriage.* These are civil marriage ‡ and divorce. IX. *Errors concerning the temporal power of the Pope.* These relate to the destruction of the temporal power. X. *Errors which relate to modern liberalism.*

The Syllabus thus condemns not only the enemies of the Church who wish to destroy it, but also the indifferent people who wish to take away its official privileges by reducing it to the condition of a private association, and the supporters of religious liberty and neutrality between sects, who demand lay citizenship, lay marriage, and lay schools. It also condemns the

or indirect. 26. The Church has no native and legitimate right to acquire and possess. 30. The immunity of the Church and of ecclesiastical persons arises from civil law. 31. Ecclesiastical justice for the trial of civil or criminal cases against the clergy must be absolutely abolished, even without consulting the Holy See. 32. The personal immunity which exempts the clergy from military service may be repealed without violation of natural rights and equity."

* "42. In case of conflict of laws between the two powers, civil law prevails. 49. Civil authority may prevent communication of the bishops with the Pope or with each other. 50. Lay authority has in itself the right to present bishops and may require them to assume the administration of dioceses without receiving canonical institution from the Holy See. 52. The government may change the age prescribed by the Church for religious profession . . . and order religious communities to allow no person to pronounce their solemn vows without its permission. 53. The civil government may grant its aid to all who wish to give up the religious life and break their vows. 55. Church and state must be separate from each other."

† "47. The best form of civil society demands that the public schools, open to all children, and in general public institutions . . . for higher education . . . shall be free from all Church authority . . . and subject to the direction of civil and political authority."

‡ "66. The marriage sacrament is only an accessory to the contract, and may be separated from it. 67. By natural law the marriage tie is not indissoluble, and in various cases divorce properly so called may be sanctioned by civil authority. 68. The Church has not the power of preventing improper marriages; this power belongs to the civil authority. 74. The trial of cases relating to marriage and betrothal belongs, properly, to civil justice."

conditional allies of the Church who struggled with her against the revolution, and the monarchical governments, advocates of lay sovereignty who have abolished Church courts and obligatory vows, and keep the clergy in subjection by means of *exequatur, recursus ab abusu*, and the requirement of previous authorization. To these may be added the Gallicans, the opponents of temporal power, and even the Liberal Catholics, who admit religious liberty.* In order to mark more distinctly the opposition between the ideal Catholic society and modern society, the close of the Syllabus condemns this proposition: "The Pope can be and ought to be reconciled and keep pace with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."

The Syllabus, owing to its abbreviated and negative form, is difficult of interpretation; it is not enough to turn each of the propositions as formulated into the opposite sense to find the true meaning of the author. There is the further fact that it is a theological document, in which distinction must be made between *thesis* and *hypothesis;* a proposition condemned in principle may be tolerated in practice under given conditions. Two opposite interpretations † of it were published, both approved by the Pope. Compared with the Encyclical, the Syllabus at least shows that the Pope, even if he did not condemn the contemporary lay state, had an altogether different ideal, and preferred the system of the Middle Ages. If the Syllabus was received with joy by the enemies of the Church, who represented it as a declaration of war by the Pope upon modern society, it was received with vexation by the governments, which tried to prevent its publication, and with obvious embarrassment by the Liberal Catholics.

* "77. In our time it is no longer desirable to retain the Catholic religion as the only state religion, to the exclusion of all other beliefs. 78. It is also well that in certain Catholic countries legal provision has been made whereby foreigners going there may enjoy public exercise of their religions."

† In France, Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, one of the leaders of the Liberal Catholic party, represented the Syllabus as a reply to the September Convention meant simply to condemn revolution and the abuse of modern liberty ("The Encyclical and the September Convention," 1864). His interpretation won the support of 630 bishops. (See a similar explanation in A. Bosseboeuf, "The Syllabus without Prejudice," 1885.) Schrader, an Austrian Jew, a member of the congregation charged with the drafting of the Syllabus, took the texts, however, in their literal sense as a condemnation of modern society, "Der Papst und die modernen Ideen," 1865.

The Vatican Council (1869-70).—In order to perfect the doctrinal reconstruction of Catholic society, Pius IX. decided to have a solemn recognition of the absolute monarchical power of the Pope in the Church, even in matters of doctrine, under the form of the dogma of Papal infallibility. In 1867 he charged a congregation of six cardinals with the preparation of a project of decrees. Then in June, 1868, he summoned to the Vatican an Ecumenical Council, the first in three centuries.

The Council, which met December 8, 1869, was an exclusively ecclesiastical assembly of about 780 members.* No civil government was represented there. The Pope had made sovereign regulations for the procedure of the council; the plans were drawn up by the committees he had chosen; nothing could come under consideration without his authorization, and the Pope alone possessed the right of initiative. The first discussion was in *general congregation*, under the presidency of a cardinal (chosen by the Pope), who controlled the right of speech. Any proposition which was not adopted unanimously, passed into the hands of a deputation of 24 members elected by secret ballot, who discussed it and presented a printed report. Thence it returned to the general congregation, where each member voted orally: *Placet*, Yes; *Non placet*, No; *Placet juxta modum*, Yes with amendments. The speaking was in Latin; the sessions were secret, and all those who took part in them were bound to secrecy. The public sessions were simply ceremonies of publication. The Pope had at command an assured majority, principally made up of the 224 Italians, the 42 Orientals, and the 119 bishops *in partibus*.

Opposition had begun before the meeting of the Council, in certain publications; † in the Council it was first shown in the protest of Strossmayer, a Croatian bishop, in December, 1869, against the regulation imposed on the assembly by the Pope;

* In the order of ranks: 48 cardinals, 10 patriarchs, 4 primates, 137 archbishops, 527 bishops, 16 mitred abbots, 35 generals, or vicars-general, of orders. By nations: 224 Italians, 81 Frenchmen, 40 Spaniards, 43 Austrians, 16 Germans, 27 English, 19 Irish, 40 Americans from the United States, 9 Canadians, 30 Latin-Americans, 19 Europeans from the small states, 42 Orientals, 119 bishops *in partibus*, etc.

† In Germany, Döllinger, professor of theology at Munich, the most celebrated Catholic theologian in Germany, published a number of articles in the *Augsburg Gazette* in March, 1869, which he gathered into a book under an assumed name: Janus, "The Pope and the Council." In France, Mgr. Maret, professor in the Theological Faculty of Paris published "The Council and Religious Interests," in September, 1869.

then in a petition of the German and Austrian bishops of the same character, in January, 1870. The opposition was of two sorts. The first, the *Anti-infallibilists*, rejected the dogma of infallibility as in itself contrary to the traditions of the Church; Döllinger described it as an "ecclasiastical revolution." The others, the majority it seems, admitted the dogma, but thought the moment inopportune for promulgating it. They feared to irritate the governments and increase the prejudice against the Church produced by the Syllabus by giving the impression that the Pope was aspiring to universal domination. These were known as the *Inopportunists;* they belonged to the Liberal Catholic party.

The opposition complained of the rules imposed on the Council; of the attitude of the presiding cardinals, who, they said, kept the opposition orators from speaking freely; of the acoustic defects of the place of meeting (a part of a church); of the lack of stenographic reports of the sessions; of articles sent out by journalists of the Infallibilist party (the French bishops drew up against Veuillot, the *Postulata a pluribus Galliarum episcopis;* the Pope sent to Veuillot a commendatory note). They reproached their opponents with hurrying the voting, and estimated that the bishops of the minority represented in themselves a greater number of Catholics than the majority, which was composed chiefly of Italians (24,000,000 souls), of Orientals (1,000,000), and bishops without dioceses. The Pope complained that the secrecy of the deliberations had been violated; that the "Letters from the Council," in the *Augsburg Gazette* in January, 1870, revealed to the public discussions which should have remained secret. He was offended that they had presumed to oppose tradition to him. "I myself am tradition," he said. The public regarded the struggle as a conflict between the Pope, directed by the absolutist Jesuits, and the liberal or national bishops. Even to-day it is hardly possible to establish historically what place this rivalry held in the divisions of the Council.

The Council had to deliberate on various subjects, divided among 4 *deputations*, committees on faith, discipline, religious orders, and Oriental rites. The main point was the definition of the articles of faith. A complete scheme had been drawn up in condemnation of errors, conformably to the Syllabus, but the dogma of infallibility was not included in the scheme. Those who advocated the promulgation of infallibility addressed a petition to the Pope signed by 400 members, begging him to

present the project of promulgation. This was the ground of the conflict. The majority, supported by the Pope, pressed the proposal to a vote; the minority, 46 Germans and Austrians, 30 French, and 20 Italians, first presented an address begging the Pope "not to impose the necessity of that vote" (January, 1870). The Pope promulgated a new regulation, according to which decrees were no longer to require unanimity for their adoption, but only a majority (February 20). The minority replied with a "representation" in March. The Pope then had a new article inserted in the project "on the Church of Christ"—the formal declaration of infallibility. The majority demanded that this article should be discussed before any other.

After unanimously voting a part of the project "on the faith," the Council passed on to the dogma of infallibility, in spite of an address from 77 members protesting against the change in the order of deliberations (April 24). The reporter (chairman of committee) Mgr. Pie of Poitiers, advocated the promulgation; he introduced a new argument: St. Peter was crucified head downward, his head bearing the weight of the whole body, just as the Pope bears the whole Church. Now, it is he who bears that is infallible, not that which is borne. One hundred and thirty-nine amendments to the project were presented; but life in Rome was becoming more and more unhealthy and unpleasant; the majority, urged to bring matters to a conclusion, did not wait for the end of the speeches announced, but voted to close debate. There still remained 40 who wished to speak. The chapter "concerning the Pope," containing the article on infallibility, was voted in general session by 371 *placet* against 88 *non placet* and 61 *placet juxta modum* (July 13). The minority, of 115 members, left Rome before the public session in which the *Constitutio de Ecclesia* was adopted by 547 votes against 2 (July 18). France had just declared war against Prussia; Rome was to be evacuated by the French garrison and thus left without defence against the Italians. The Pope suspended the Council; then, on October 20, adjourned it indefinitely.

The Vatican Council came to an end before finishing the work for which it had been convoked; it had voted only the chapters "on the faith" and 4 chapters "on the Pope." Its part was reduced to the consecration of the dogma of infallibility, which recognised in the Pope the exclusive authority in matters of faith.* This measure did not produce the disasters expected by

* The *Pastor Æternus* bull of July 18 defined it thus: "The Pope, when he speaks from the throne, *ex cathedra*, that is when, in exercising

those who opposed the promulgation. All the bishops submitted to it. There now remained only the German priests and theologians. These refused to sign the declaration required by their bishops, and established a new Church (1871); but the schism of the *Old Catholics* remained confined to Germany and Switzerland, and even there it was confined to a small minority of theologians and people of the middle class. It did not penetrate into the mass of the faithful. The governments expressed disapprobation; but they thought that the moment had passed for laymen to interfere in matters of faith. Austria alone forbade the publication of the decrees of the Council; a number of German states refused them the *placet*.

Conflicts between Church and State.—After the reaction was over conflict had begun once more between the Catholic Church and the lay governments. The most violent was the Italian conflict on the subject of temporal power and the possession of Rome. The Pope declared the temporal power an indispensable condition for the exercise of his spiritual authority, and the political struggle became one of religion. The Catholics in all the countries demanded the intervention of their governments to secure the *re-establishment of the temporal power*. The Pope, refusing to recognise the Kingdom of Italy, continued in his addresses to protest against the robbery of the "Piedmontese government"; he forbade Catholics to take part in the elections. The Italian government had adopted, since Cavour's time, the motto of the Catholic Liberals—*A free Church in a free state*. It tried to introduce the Belgian system in Italy. On the one hand, it suppressed all that remained of the old compulsory Church authority, Church courts, tithes (1866), and established full religious liberty; later it adopted civil marriage; it suppressed the majority of the convents, and secularized the Church estates, replacing them with salaries for the secular clergy. On the other hand, it abolished the former subjection of the Church to the state, leaving the Pope free to appoint bishops, and reserved to the clergy their honorary privileges. But as the Pope

the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine on faith or morals which must be adhered to by the whole Church, possesses, by virtue of the divine aid promised him in the person of St. Peter, that *infallibility* with which the Divine Saviour wished to invest his Church in the definition of doctrine on faith and morals; consequently the Pope's definitions under these conditions are in themselves incapable of amendment, even by the consent of the Church."

refused to negotiate, this organization, though established in fact, remained unrecognised by the Church.

The occupation of Rome in September, 1870, greatly aggravated the conflict. The government, by the *law of guarantees*, promised to let the Pope enjoy the personal situation of a sovereign in his palace of the Vatican, to grant him an annual compensation for his lost revenues, and to guarantee him absolute independence in his office as head of the Church. It abolished all power of the civil authority in Church affairs. But Pius IX., declaring himself morally a *prisoner*, refused to negotiate, and shut himself up in the Vatican; he could not go into the city of Rome, where he was exposed, he said, to a meeting with enemies of religion, revolutionists or Protestants, in the free display of their opinions. The conflict became a chronic one and has not yet ceased.

In Austria, the Constitution of 1867, which guaranteed religious liberty contrary to the Concordat, opened the conflict with the Pope. The government began to pass laws contrary to the Concordat; the Pope declared them *null*, by virtue of his apostolic authority, thus affirming the superiority of Church authority, and its right to annul the acts of the lay power. The Austrian government maintained its laws, affirming the right of the lay power to modify by its own sole authority even a regulation made in common with the Church authority. It then used the promulgation of infallibility to rid itself of the Concordat, which it had already violated. It declared that the doctrine set forth by the Council established relations between Church and State on an altogether new footing, by enlarging the Pope's province and concentrating all the powers in his person; one of the two contracting parties having changed its situation, the contract became void. The conflict continued in the laws of 1873, and Austria returned to the system of Joseph II., but without restoring the old forms of state guardianship. The Church found itself in much the same position there as in France, except that it retained its control of marriage and records of population.

In France, up to the end of the Empire, the conflict was confined to minor questions—the publication of the Syllabus in 1864, the struggle of the bishops (Dupanloup) against the Duruy reforms in the University, against the creation of lay schools for girls, and against the materialistic doctrines of the professors. The chief effort of the Catholic party bore on the Roman question, to induce the government to defend the temporal power.

This was a period of sharp controversy between the Liberal Catholics (Dupanloup) and the Infallibilist party (Veuillot and the *Univers*). The conflict ceased during the war. While the National Assembly was in session the Catholic party tried to bring about intervention in favour of the temporal power; it succeeded only in securing the creation of Catholic universities. Then came the "anti-clerical" reaction, which led the Republican party to expel the unauthorized religious orders (1880), and deprived the clergy of the control of the primary public schools, which, since the law of 1850, had been under the municipal councils. This left to the clergy only the private schools. In 1889 the clergy lost even the exemption from military service which they preserved in all the other Catholic states.

In Spain the conflict was violent after the revolution of 1868; for the first time in Spain unity of faith was officially abolished; the Constitution of 1869 proclaimed the public liberty of non-Catholic beliefs; then, the clergy having opposed the government, the Cortes established civil marriage. Pius IX. openly sided with Don Carlos, the legitimate King, and the breach was complete between the Holy See and the Spanish government until the restoration of 1874. The Pope consented to recognise the government of Alphonso XII.; but he did not secure the complete restoration of unity of faith, and protested against the Constitution of 1876, which granted toleration of private worship for non-Catholics.

The Russian government had broken official relations with the Pope in 1866, in connection with the measures for Russification directed against the Catholic Church of Poland; it had withdrawn its ambassador from Rome and forbidden the Polish clergy to hold any communication with the Pope.

In Germany and Switzerland the conflict was indirectly a result of the Council. It began over the excommunication of the *Old Catholics*. It led to a complete rupture with the Holy See.

Pius IX. spent his last years in protesting against the violation of Church liberty in the various states of Europe. He showed his indignation in addresses to pilgrims, circulars to the nuncios, or brief addresses to the clergy and faithful of the countries in conflict.*

* Address to the German Reading Club, June, 1872, against the "persecution of the Church in Germany" directed by "the prime minister"; Pius IX. pronounced the famous words: "Who knows how soon the little stone shall come from the height and break the heel of this colossus?"—

He died leaving the Church engaged in a general conflict with the civil power. Everywhere the Church's official authority had declined. It had lost its exclusive control in the central states; even Spain had escaped from unity of the faith. Italy and Austria had adopted the system of religious liberty. Germany had taken from the Church the control of marriage and clerical autonomy. In France and Belgium a party was to come into power which was hostile to the Church and was preparing to take away the schools from its control. All these struggles, however, had, by exciting the ardour of the Catholics, obliged them to unite and get rid of national and liberal dissensions. All the Catholics joined in a disciplined party, armed for the political fight. The Catholic party was strong enough to keep the power in Belgium from 1870 to 1878; in Switzerland it had been reorganized and had reconquered the old cantons of the *Sonderbund;* in Prussia and Germany it had just created the *centre;* in Austria it was beginning to form a home rule party. In Spain and France it remained a part of the Conservative party, and its principal power. The economic resources of the party had just been shown on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the accession of Pius IX., in 1877; the gifts sent to the Pope by the Catholics exceeded $3,000,000. The *Peter's Pence,* consisting of voluntary contributions from the faithful, permitted the Holy See to cover its expenses without accepting the grant from Italy.

Policy of Leo XIII.—The successor of Pius IX., Pecci, was elected, it is said, as the candidate of the party intermediate between the supporters and the opponents of reconciliation with Italy (February, 1878). He had been the pupil of Jesuits and the *protégé* of Leo XII.; he took the name of Leo XIII. He had had some experience in politics, having been *delegate* or prefect in the States of the Church, and later papal nuncio in Belgium,

Consistory of Cardinals, December, 1872; address against the attack on the Church lands in Italy, against Germany, the Swiss Confederation, and Spain.—Encyclical, November, 1873, against the persecution in Germany and Switzerland and the protection given to the *Old Catholics.*—Encyclical to the Prussian prelates, February, 1875; which declared the May Laws null and void, as contrary to the divine institution of the Church.—Address to the German pilgrims, May, 1877: "Many centuries ago God sent Attila to rouse the peoples; to-day he has aroused the noble German people by a new Attila."—Address to the Austrian pilgrims: "To-day revolution controls the world against the will of the nations."—Protest against the accession of Humbert under the title of King of Italy, January, 1878.

from 1843 to 1846, the time when the Belgian Catholic party completed its organization.

The political doctrine of Leo XIII. on the relations between Church and state was exactly that of Pius IX.; he expressed in his doctrinal utterances the same ideal of Christian society and reproduced the condemnations of the *Syllabus* against modern society. The Encyclical *Inscrutabili* of 1878 condemned "the *laws* destructive of the divine constitution of the Catholic Church, adopted in most countries, . . . untrammelled freedom to teach and publish all sorts of evil." *

The Encyclical of December, 1878, concerning "modern errors," directed against socialists, condemns the lay state, sovereignty of the people,† and lay schools.‡

The Encyclical "concerning Christian marriage" (1880) claims the "legislative and judicial control" of marriage, which the Church has not ceased to exercise since the time of the Christian Emperors, and rejects "the distinction made by regalists, who separate the marriage contract from the sacrament . . . so as to subject the contract to the power and whim of the prince."

The Encyclical "concerning the origin of civil power" (1881) condemns the theory of society founded on free consent, "the false philosophy" of the eighteenth century, "what is known

* "The evils which overwhelm humanity from every side" come "from scorning and rejecting the authority of the Church." The Pope denounces "that extensive subversion of the supreme truths which are the foundations of human society." Comparing "the epoch in which we live, so hostile to religion and the Church of Christ, with those happy times when the Church was worshipped as a mother by all nations," he concludes that the cause of the superiority of the old times, "so much more prosperous," lay in the fact that "the peoples were more obedient to the government and laws of the Church," while our epoch "is rushing headlong to ruin." He declares lay civilization a "false civilization." He condemns the civil marriage established by "impious laws," and denounces "the citizens who in place of marriage have adopted legal concubinage."

† "This new impiety, unknown even to the heathen," by which "the states have been constituted without taking account of God and the order He has established," which has announced "that public authority derives its principle, its majesty, and its power to command, not from God, but from the multitude of the people."

"To refuse to recognise God as the source of the right to command is to wish to rob political power of its splendour and cut its sinews. To say that it depends on the will of the people is first of all to commit an error, and secondly, to establish sovereignty on a frail foundation."

‡ "The Creator and Redeemer of mankind shut out of the studies of the universities, colleges, and high schools."

as modern law and the sovereignty of the people" (*imperium populare*).

The Encyclical "concerning the Free Masons" (1884) denounces them as supporters of the lay state, who "shut out the very wholesome influence of the Catholic religion from the laws and government" and end by "building up a state wholly independent of the institutions and precepts of the Church." It renews the condemnations of the Masons decreed by Pius IX.

The Encyclical *Immortale Dei* (1885) "concerning the Christian constitution of states" condemns "the expectation of seeking the regulation of civil life elsewhere than in the doctrines approved by the Church," enumerates the errors of the "new ideas of law," * and formally recalls the condemnations of the *Syllabus*.

The Encyclical to the Hungarian bishops (1886) condemns the "schools termed *neutral, mixed,* or *lay,*" created "that the scholars may grow up in complete ignorance of holy things."

The Encyclical "concerning human liberty" (1888) denounces "that extensive and powerful school of men who wish to be called *liberals,*" the "supporters of liberalism," who apply the principles of *naturalism* in politics; it condemns modern liberties, *liberty of creed,* liberty of opinion, of the press, of education,†

* The ideas condemned are the natural equality and liberty of all men, sovereignty of the people, unfettered freedom of opinion, and the lay state ("The state makes no public profession of religion; it must not search for the only true creed, nor prefer one to another . . . but must grant to all equality before the law. . . Every religious question must be left to the judgment of individuals; each man shall be free to pursue the religion which pleases him, or even none, if none please him"). The Encyclical asserts that "the Church no less than the state is a perfect society by nature and by right," and that "the governors . . . must not deprive it of any rights conferred by Jesus Christ."

† They are thus formulated: "It is lawful for each man to profess the religion he prefers, or even none." . . (The Pope explains that this liberty offered to man confers on him the power to distort or even desert, with impunity, the most sacred of duties.")—"The state has no reason to express any form of belief in God . . . nor to prefer one belief to another, but must recognise the same rights in all." (The Pope explains that "justice and right forbid the state to become atheistic, or, which would lead to atheism, to have the same feeling toward various religions and to grant them equal rights without distinction.")—In speech and press the Pope recognises only the right "to spread freely and prudently all that is true and honest"; but as for "false opinions," it is just that public authority should repress them, that they may not be allowed to extend to the ruin of the state.

"which are vaunted as triumphs of our times." In opposition to *liberalism* the Pope explains the nature of the *toleration* granted by the Church, which must be precarious.*

The Encyclical "of the protection of St. Joseph and the Holy Virgin, to implore their aid in the difficulties of the times" (1889), declares the present time "hardly less calamitous for Christian society than those which have always been regarded as the most calamitous."

Leo XIII. maintained toward the Italian government the same attitude as Pius IX. Never did he cease to reclaim temporal power as the indispensable condition of the liberty of the Holy See and the free exercise of spiritual power. Each year, in his solemn addresses to the cardinals, on the anniversary of his coronation, March 5, and on Christmas, he renewed his protest against the occupation of Rome and reserved the rights of the Holy See.† Like Pius IX., he persisted in declaring himself

* "The Church would like to introduce Christian principles at once into practice in all orders of the state. For they are the most powerful agent in overcoming the evils of the present time . . . born in great part of these boasted liberties. . . If a remedy is sought, let it be sought in the return of wholesome doctrines. . . Nevertheless, in her maternal judgment, the Church takes account of human frailty, and does not ignore the tide which invades our epoch. With this motive, while granting *rights* only to true and honest things, she does not oppose the public power in its support of some things contrary to truth and justice in order to avoid a greater evil or to secure or preserve a greater good. . . But . . . the more evil a state has to tolerate, the more that state is cut off from perfection; and the tolerance of evil . . . must be absolutely circumscribed within the limits that public safety demands. . . If, in view of the special conditions of the state, it happens that the Church agrees to certain modern liberties, not that she prefers them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient to allow them; in case the times should improve, she should use her liberty . . . to fulfil the duty God has assigned to her, to labour for the eternal salvation of mankind. It is always true that this liberty for all men in all things is not desirable in itself, because it is contrary to reason that the false should have the same rights as the true." —The Pope condemns not only "the separation of Church and state," but the doctrine "that it is not within the Church's province to make laws, to judge, or to punish, and that she must confine herself to the exhortation, persuasion, and direction of those who voluntarily subject themselves to her."

* He makes besides a special protest against the law which transfers to the Italian government the administration of the possessions of the *Propaganda*, an international congregation, which was to be independent of all lay authority (1884); against the anti-Catholic demonstrations at the transfer of the ashes of Pius IX. (1881); against the monument to Giordano Bruno (1889).

a moral prisoner, and made it a rule never to go out of the Vatican. He never officially recognised the Italian government; he did not notify it of his accession; he refused to negotiate with it, to accept the law of the guarantees, or even the money for his civil list. He forbade Italian Catholics to take part in the elections. Every rumour of a reconciliation between the Pope and the King of Italy, Leo energetically denied. The churchmen who dared to propose conciliation, Curci in 1884 and Tosti in 1887, were disowned and forced to retract. The Catholic princes who visited the King of Italy were not received at the Vatican, Leo accepting only Protestant princes under these conditions. Several times, in 1883, 1884, and 1889, a rumour was spread about that the Pope was going to move his residence out of Italy. The pilgrims continued to regard the Pope as the sovereign of Rome, and sometimes they showed this by crying: "Long live the Pope King!"

Like Pius IX., Leo XIII. waged continual war on the Free Masons; he issued a special encyclical against them, the *Humanum Genus* of 1884, and a letter to the Italian people in 1892, in which he recommended them "to avoid any connection with persons suspected of belonging to the Free Masons or any similar society."

But the practical policy of Leo XIII. was not that of Pius IX. Instead of struggling against the governments, he made terms with them, except in Italy, where he would have been obliged to sacrifice the principle of the temporal power. Instead of prolonging the conflict, he tried to end it. He succeeded in renewing the relations which Pius had broken off with Switzerland, the German Empire, and Russia. In France, during the struggle of 1880 against the congregations, he avoided a rupture and gle against the congregation of 1880, he avoided a rupture and confined himself to approval of the protests made by the French bishops. Instead of leaving the Catholics in each country to fight alone, he tried to take the direction of the Catholic parties and press, so as to combine their action.

His policy seems to have been to form in each country a Catholic party which should represent a sufficiently great power politically to make its alliance desirable, and to offer this alliance to the government in return for concessions to the Church. In Germany Leo got the Centre to vote for the military law, and after long negotiation, gradually secured the abolition of the measures adopted during the *Culturkampf*, except civil marriage and the modifications of the Prussian Constitution. In

England he assisted the government against the Irish agitation by sending to Ireland, in 1888, a nuncio who decided against the Land League. In Russia he exhorted the Polish clergy to obedience in 1894, and in 1895 secured the reappointment of a Russian ambassador to the Papal Court. In France, after the defeat of the Conservatives in 1889, he tried to establish a Catholic party (1891-92) by ordering the Catholics to accept the Republican constitution in order to labour for the repeal of laws contradictory to the rights of the Church.

The Pope was thus led to interfere in the domestic policy of the governments. At first he met resistance from the leaders of the Catholic parties, who were accustomed to direct the policy of their party—the Irish in 1883 and 1887, the German Centre in 1887, and the French Conservatives in 1891. They pretended to distinguish between matters of faith, in which every Catholic is bound to obey the Pope, and temporal questions, in which every man is independent. Leo XIII. condemned this distinction as contrary to the legitimate authority of the Holy See, holding that the Pope, as head of the Church, is the only judge of the interests of the Church and that the faithful have no right to fix the limits of their obedience.* The monarchical unity of religious control, proclaimed at the Vatican Council, pointed to unity in the political direction of all Catholics.

After the attempts at socialistic policy by the German government, Leo also interfered in the social movement with the famous Encyclical "concerning the condition of the working classes" (1891); he condemned socialism and strikes, preached harmony between capital (*res*) and labour (*opera*), praised industrial corporations, and recommended the creation of unions of Catholic workingmen.

Leo XIII. has endeavoured to bring the Orthodox churches into Catholic unity. In 1884, at the solemn reception of the Slavic Catholic pilgrims, Croats, Czechs, and Galicians, led by the head of the Croat nationalists, Bishop Strossmayer, he expressed the hope of the union of the great Slav nation. In 1894 he pub-

*In France the Pope signified his decision by repeated acts, in 1892. Letter to the Archbishop of Paris, January 5; Encyclic to bishops and faithful, February 16; Encyclic to French cardinals, May 6; Letter to French Catholics, June 14; Letter to the Bishop of Grenoble, June 22: "When politics are allied to religious interests, it becomes the part of the head of the Church to determine the best means to defend the religious interests."

lished the Encyclical " to the princes and peoples of the world," inviting into the union the Orientals and even the Protestants. He convoked a conference to prepare the way for union, and promulgated a regulation for the Eastern churches which came over to Rome, guaranteeing them the maintenance of their religious rites.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the state has taken from the Catholic Church in Europe all material power; it has suppressed compulsory unity of faith to establish religious liberty. But through the *effective* concentration of all Church authority in the person of the Pope, now an absolute sovereign, through the creation in all the countries of parliamentary Catholic parties, all subject to a common centre, through the enlargement of the clerical body, both secular and regular, through the accumulation of wealth, and the organization of Catholic schools of all degrees, the Church has acquired a social and political power which is certainly superior to the official power she has lost.

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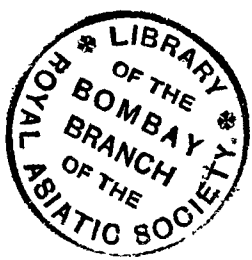

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES.

Free Masons and Carbonari.—Free Masonry, which had in the eighteenth century become a society for the propagation of humanitarian doctrines, was a kind of international federation, without the character of a political party. But in endeavouring to establish religious liberty, it brought itself into conflict with the Church, which condemned it as a heresy in 1738 and 1751. In so far as it was preparing for the destruction of the coercive power of the churches, it became a revolutionary association.

After the French Revolution, when the system of the lay state was established, it became once more a peaceful society, without precise political aim. After the Restoration, in the countries which preserved religious liberty, it remained a secret society in name, with secret rites and mysterious meetings, but tolerated in fact, in some cases even encouraged. It drew its members from among the well-to-do middle classes, and even from among the high officials, often choosing members of the government as its dignitaries. In the central countries, where Catholicism was again obligatory, the Free Masons were a really secret society, prohibited, pursued, and consequently revolutionary, recruited principally among the free-thinking young men of the bourgeoisie and discontented army officers. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and especially in the States of the Church, the Free Masons conspired against the government.

The Free Masons of different countries had but one principle in common, namely, religious liberty. They supported every form of government, and did not call themselves republican. In actual fact they were chiefly from the liberal parties, hostile to the clergy and to absolute government. The society was organized in self-governing lodges united as a federation, ordinarily as a national federation—each nation having a Grand Master and a Supreme Council.

The Free Masons kept themselves in communication from one country to another, and had international signs of recogni-

tion. It is probable that those of the constitutional countries worked against the governments that persecuted their fellows; it is also possible that the Masons had transmitted from one country to another a certain idea, somewhat vague, of a liberal constitutional system. Was there, beside the national official organization, a secret international directory, working, in addition to the acknowledged doctrines and aims, to make a republican, lay revolution in all the countries? This is the view of certain Catholic writers, Crétineau-Joly, Father Deschamps, Claudio Jannet. It is not possible to settle it historically; we can only see that there was no unity of political doctrine among Free Masons, that a number of revolutionary leaders have been Free Masons, that some have gone into the Masonic lodges to win supporters, perhaps even to propagate revolutionary ideas there. But there is nothing to show that they worked for revolution as *Free Masons.*

The Restoration governments differed in their conduct toward the Free Masons. The Protestant states left them alone. In France the Liberal ministries (Descazes) favoured them. The Tsar of Russia, Alexander I., encouraged the creation of lodges. Metternich, on the contrary, forbade all associations and denounced to the other governments the intrigues of the *sects,* as he termed all political or religious societies, including the mysticists and Bible societies. He took advantage of the associations of German students (which were probably purely national and without connection with Free Masonry), and more emphatically of the revolution in Spain and Italy, to ask the Tsar to suppress secret societies (1820-21). Alexander decided, in 1822, to forbid Free Masonry in Russia.

After the absolutist restoration in Naples, the secret society of *Carbonari,* hitherto exclusively Italian, entered into relations with the French revolutionists, perhaps with the Free Masons. The French *Charbonnerie* was then constituted on the Italian model, in 1821, by the founders of a Masonic lodge, the *Friends of Truth,* Buchez, Joubert, Bazard, and Flottard. This was, however, a national society, with a national platform, the expulsion of the Bourbons (see p. 122). The only international organization was the *Cosmopolitan Alliance,* founded by certain leaders of the French Liberals, among them Lafayette.

The action of the secret societies was confined to unsuccessful revolutions in Spain and Italy, and unsuccessful conspiracies against the Bourbons, from 1820 to 1822; and perhaps to the

revolt of the Russian *Decabrists* (see p. 558), but they helped to form in France the little Republican party which made the revolution of 1830, and in Belgium the Liberal party, which was organized by Defacqz, Grand Master of the Free Masons (see p. 246).

The Republican "Young Europe."—In imitation of the French Republican party, Republican parties were formed in several countries after 1830. They were recruited among the young men and workingmen, and were particularly active in the feebly governed states, Germany, central Italy, and Poland. These parties were in communication from one country to another, but were without international management; their action in each country was limited to demonstrations in favour of the revolutionists of the other countries; they demanded first of all intervention to aid the Poles in their rebellion against the Tsar, and the subjects of the Pope in their attempt at revolution.

After the failure of the revolts Mazzini endeavoured to establish a political association to make methodical preparation for revolution and set up a democratic, lay republic. The organization, primarily Italian with a foreign centre, became very quickly European (see p. 335). *Young Italy* became a branch of *Young Europe.* It was founded to unite all Italy in a single state, "a republic one and indivisible"; the members promised to obey and keep the secret; a secret tribunal condemned traitors and chose some of their members to kill them.

Mazzini succeeded in organizing several national sections, Young Italy, Young Poland, Young Germany, Young Switzerland, Young France, and Young Spain. These were composed of men over forty years of age, chiefly belonging to the bourgeoisie. They were all federated, under Mazzini's direction. This man's extraordinary activity accomplished only conspiracies, unsuccessful outbreaks, and some assassinations. After 1848 Young Europe broke up, without having gained any direct political result. But the republican groups in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Poland served as revolutionary centres from which communist and socialist parties have sprung.

Mazzini continued to plot to make Italy a republic and expel the Austrians. He incited the Orsini attempt against Napoleon III., for having failed to keep his oath to deliver Italy. During the period in which the unity of Italy was getting accomplished (1859-70), he was in communication with the heads of the Italian government, perhaps with King Victor Emmanuel, with the

Hungarian refugees, Kossuth, Generals Türr and Klapka, and with the Polish insurgents. Attempts were made to organize a general insurrection against Austria. This was not, however, an international party; it was only a coalition of national revolutionists.

The Socialistic Schools.—While the republican parties were beginning to prepare a political revolution, parties of a new character were formed, who laboured after a social revolution.

The movement began under the Restoration, 1814-30, simultaneously in England and France, by slow and confused work over the adoption of doctrines. Certain peace-loving philanthropists, Owen and Thomson in England, Saint-Simon and Fourier in France, criticised modern society. Taking it up where the eighteenth century philosophers had left it, they did not stop at political institutions, but took up social institutions,—private property, inheritance, the family, and wages—institutions which were regarded as the very foundations of society by the philosophers and economists. The creation of the factory system began to produce a change, already visible in the more advanced countries, England and France. It had formed a new class of wage-earners, having nothing but their daily wages to live on, and reduced during industrial crises to starvation and wretchedness. People began to talk of the *proletarians*, an old Roman name revived to designate a new class, and of *pauperism*, a new sort of distress caused by industrial wealth.

The objections, though very different in form, may be reduced to two fundamental ideas:

1. Society was too hard on the poor, inflicted on them too much suffering, too mean and uncertain wages, an unhealthy occupation, laborious and brutalizing, too long working hours, a servile dependence on the master and his foreman, small, dirty, and unhealthy lodgings, unwholesome food, a sad and disorderly life, and prostitution for the women. The protest against this system took a sentimental form of compassion for the poor, indignation against the rich, mingled with early Christian reminiscences and ranting speeches. It was expressed in France by the formula "To each according to his needs," or in judicial language, *the right to existence.*

2. Society was organized contrary to justice. Property and inheritance divided men into two unequal classes. From this inequality, consecrated by law contrary to the principles of 1789, arose an injustice in dividing the products of labour. The cap-

italist kept the product and gave the labourer only a wage obviously inferior to his worth, since the employer's wealth increased although it was not he that had done the work. This demand was expressed in the phrase "To each according to his works," or, in judicial language, *right to the full product of labour*. Combining the two formulæ the next demand was for the *right of labour*—the right of existence through labour.

The authors of this social theory, later called *socialists*, attributed the vices of society to its economic organization, private property, inheritance, wages, and free competition, which they also reproached with the wasting of forces. As to remedies they could not agree. Before 1830, however, two systems had already been set forth: that of Owen and that of Saint-Simon, perfected by Bazard. The official organ of the Saint-Simonians, the *Globe* (1830), took for its motto: "All social institutions must have as their object the bettering of the moral, material, and intellectual conditions of the poorest and most numerous class; all privileges of birth must be abolished without exception. To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works."

A second generation of socialists, P. Leroux, Considérant, L. Blanc, and Proudhon in France, Rodbertus and Marlo (pseudonym of Winkelblech) in Germany, completed the social theory.

All the socialists except Louis Blanc were outside of political life, and confined themselves to the propagation of their ideas. Some of them tried to create a model society, to test their reforms on a small scale—the St.-Simonians, Owen, the Fourierists, Cabet, and the Icarians; but they did not organize political parties. They were nevertheless the fathers of socialism. It was they who conceived all the criticisms of existing society, all the formulas, even the practical means of action and the measures of socialistic reform. Previous to 1848 there was already talk of "exploitation of man by man," of the "right to labour," of "surplus value," anarchy, social democracy, inter-class struggle, workingman's party, international understanding between workingmen, emancipation of the proletariat, organization of labor, industrial federation, and the like. Co-operative association of producers was proposed. National workshops, gratuitous loans, bank of exchange, superannuation fund, laws for the protection of industry, collective ownership, progressive taxation, general strike, eight-hour day, workingmen's congresses, etc., were advocated.

The socialist parties, which were formed later, lived on the intellectual labour of the first half of the century.

The Communist Parties.—The socialist schools did not constitute a revolutionary party. The movement toward social revolution began first in the revolutionary republican party in Paris under the form of a revival of Babeuf's communism; it was a survivor of Babouvism, Buonarotti, who converted Voyer d'Argenson,* and later those who were accused in the April prosecutions (see p. 139). A *communist* party detached itself from the French Republican party, demanding a social revolution by the abolition of private ownership. Its further doctrines remained rudimentary: it was first of all a party for revolutionary action (see p. 150). But the communist propaganda had reached Germany.

In Germany a division similar to that in the French party had taken place in the revolutionary democratic party of 1833 (see p. 382). Büchner founded in Hesse a secret society, the *Rights of Man*, and in 1834 addressed the peasantry in a paper beginning: "Peace to the cottages! War on the palaces." He declared political revolution impossible without a social revolution.

In Paris, the German workmen and refugees founded, in 1836, a secret society, the *Bund der Gerechten* (League of the Just), which quickly took the name of *Alliance of Communists* and organized itself as a federation. It consisted of groups called *communes*, federated in *clubs*, which sent delegates to a *congress*, where a central authority was chosen to direct the whole league. The *Alliance of Communists* was in relations with workingmen's clubs (*Arbeiterbildungsvereine*) for reading, study, and discussion, where it worked to win support.

The Alliance, created in Paris, gathered adherents in the countries of political liberty: in Switzerland, where the tailor Weitling settled himself in 1841 and spread the doctrine among the German workingmen;† in England, where a refugee, Schapper, founded a "commune" at London, in 1840; in Belgium, where Karl Marx and Engels founded a group at Brussels in 1845.

* In 1838 d'Argenson and Ch. Teste were prosecuted for a communistic [illegible] pamphlet. Teste proposed a social reform thus conceived: "Art. 1. All [illegible] and personal estate . . . belongs to the people, who alone may [illegible] its distribution.—Art. 2. Work is a necessary duty of every [illegible]."

† Weitling preached a sentimental doctrine—liberty, equality, harmony; [illegible] a bloodless revolution, attacking only property. "The Gospel [illegible] Poor Fisherman" (1843) was a communistic interpretation of Christ's [illegible] doctrines.

Germans predominated in all these groups; they were chiefly workmen in the superior metals, and Jews, in relations with the radical German poets, Freiligrath, Herwegh, Gutzkow, and with the democrats who directed the publication named the *Vorwärts*. The French government suppressed the paper and exiled some of its editors—Karl Marx, who went to Brussels, Moses Hess, who went back to Germany. There was at that time in the Rhine region, Cologne, Trèves, and Düsseldorf, a centre of communist propaganda, publishing prohibited writings. There were also communist demonstrations in the manufacturing regions of Silesia, and a secret society was discovered there, which was perhaps without connection with the international movement. The weavers' revolt in 1844, made famous by G. Hauptmann's drama, seems to have been only a bread riot.

To escape the prosecutions that followed the Blanqui-Barbès trial in 1840 the central authorities of the *Alliance* moved from Paris to London, where they remained until 1848. In 1846 they persuaded Karl Marx and Engels, who were then at Brussels, to join the *Alliance*, and asked them to draw up a manifesto, which was accepted by the Congress of 1847. This was the celebrated *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published early in 1848, before the Revolution. It passed unnoticed at the time, but it has of late years become the gospel of the collectivist party, for it contains already all Marx's doctrines in a concise and vivid form. It was divided into 4 parts: 1. *Capitalists and proletarians*, history of the social evolution; * 2. *Proletarians and communists*, justi-

* The fundamental ideas are: 1. "The history of all society to the present day is simply the history of *struggles between classes*. Society is divided more and more into two hostile classes, Capitalists and Proletarians."—2. "Every class struggle is a political struggle." "Political power is the organized power of one class for the suppression of another." "Modern government is simply a committee for the administration of the affairs of the capitalist class."—"3. The factory system has created the market of the world." "By exploiting the world's market, the capitalist class gives a cosmopolitan character to production in all countries; it has taken from industry its national basis." Society has become international —4. "The capitalist class . . . has created more varied and more colossal productive forces than all past generations," but "the system has become too narrow to hold the wealth created within it"; hence "the paradox of epidemic of over-production." The middle class has produced crises more and more general.—5. "The capitalist class has produced . . . men who will deal it its deathblow, the modern workingmen, the *proletarians* crowded into the factories, with military organization." They "are increasing in power and are becoming conscious of their power," re-enfo

fication of the doctrines and practical program of the party;* 3. *Socialist and communist literature*, criticism of socialist doctrines, *reactionary socialism*, *bourgeois socialism* (Proudhon), *critico-Utopian socialism and communism* (Owen, Fourier, Cabet); 4. *Position of communists in face of the various opposition parties*, party policy.

The conclusion is international and revolutionary. "The communists labour for the union of democratic parties in all countries. They do not stoop to dissimulate their opinions and aims. They proclaim aloud that their ends could not be attained without the violent overturning of all existing social order." And the manifesto ends with the famous appeal: "Proletarians of all nations, unite."

The Revolutionary Parties during the Revolution of 1848 and the Reaction.—The revolutionary parties, political and social, republican, democratic, socialist, communist, formed in Europe before 1848 only little isolated groups in certain cities, tracked by the police, obliged to work in secret and often to hide or leave the city, ignored or scorned by the public. The French revolution of 1848, made by the action of the socialist democratic party, in the name of equality and the Republic, excited the hopes of all European revolutionists. Refugees returned to their na-

by the lower middle class, the artisans, the peasants who are falling into the proletariat."—6. "Until now all historic movements have been produced by minorities to their own profit. The proletarian movement is the movement of the immense majority for the benefit of the majority." It begins with "a national struggle" in each country. But it will become international, for "workingmen have no country."

*The communists defend "the common interests of the proletariat"; their propositions are not inventions of world reformers, they are confined to the "expression of the actual conditions of an existing class contest, of an historical movement"; their aim is to organize the proletarians in a class party, to have the proletariat gain political power, and to abolish middle-class property ownership, "created by the labour of wage-earners for the profit of capitalists." Capital is "a social power," it will become common property. This will be the abolition of "middle-class freedom" (of commerce), of the "middle-class family," of traditional religion and morality, and of hostility between nations. The revolution will be made by a political process. As transitional measures, the manifesto proposes: 1. the confiscation of land rent; 2. highly progressive direct taxes; 3. abolition of inheritance; 4. confiscation of the property of emigrants; 5. centralization of credit by a national bank with public capital and exclusive monopoly; 6. centralization of all means of transportation; 7. national manufactories, national cultivation of the land; 8. compulsory labour for all; 9. public free education for all children.

tive lands, in Germany and Italy, to join in the revolution. The revolutionists remained in communication, from country to country, some of them even went to other countries to aid the democratic insurgents against the governments. The Poles in particular took part in all the European insurrections, and intervention in favour of Poland was demanded by the revolutionary parties in France and Germany. The Revolution of 1848 was not, however, the work of an international party. The revolutionists of the different nations excited one another by example and encouragement, but they made only national revolts, without common direction.

In France the revolutionists, at the head of the government, divided into democratic republicans, opposing social revolution, and democratic socialists. The discord led to civil war. In the other countries the republicans, forced to struggle once more against monarchical government, remained united (Prussia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy); the difference in doctrine remained theoretical and did not hinder the communists and socialists from working in harmony with the democratic republicans. But a number of industrial organizations were founded in Germany. A social-democratic union of workingmen in Berlin held a workingmen's congress in August, 1848, out of which grew the *Fraternity*, a German federation of workingmen, who took part in the revolutions of Baden and Dresden. In the west, at Cologne, Karl Marx founded a communist newspaper; a socialist workingmen's union was established, and an assembly voted a bill to establish a "social democratic republic" (September, 1848). After the *coup d'état* at Berlin, the communists issued a proclamation for the refusal of taxes; Marx at Cologne and Lassalle at Düsseldorf were prosecuted for inciting revolt. In the Frankfort Parliament sat a number of socialist deputies, who demanded recognition of the right to labour. In Italy the movement remained democratic and national.

The reaction of 1849 and 1850 destroyed the revolutionary groups; the communists, prosecuted in Germany, France, and even Belgium and Switzerland, fled to London. The *Alliance* was reorganized there in 1849 and tried to renew relations with the communes in Germany, France, and Switzerland, but it was cut into two groups, one of which, under Willich, wished to continue preparations for an armed revolution; the other, under Marx, wished to confine itself to the propagation of the doctrine. The Marx group moved to Cologne and was surprised

by the police, in 1851. The subsequent prosecution of the Cologne communists, who were condemned for high treason, obliged Marx to dissolve his group. The Diet, on the request of the two great powers, passed a decree, in 1854, obliging all the German governments to dissolve all political societies of workingmen. The Willich group retained the management of the societies in Switzerland, Brussels, and France, and even established an "international social-democratic committee"; it was discovered by the French police.

The socialists, reduced to hiding, disappeared completely from public life; the governments, warned by the revolution of 1848, took measures against revolutionary propagandism; the movement seemed to have definitely failed. L. Reybaud, writing the history of the socialists, said: "Socialism is dead; to mention it is to pronounce its funeral oration."

When political life began again after 1859, a doctrine was preached which seemed new to most people of the time, so completely was socialism forgotten. Yet it was simply a revival of the socialist movement of the days previous to 1848; the leaders were the men of '48, Karl Marx, Lassalle, Liebknecht, who taught a new generation the doctrines, formulæ, and procedure of the former socialists.

The revival was brought about simultaneously by two independent and even rival creations, Karl Marx' *International Association* and Lassalle's *German National Party.*

The International (1862-72).—The new socialist organization began in London, the centre of socialist refugees, the residence of Karl Marx. The first step was taken by the leaders of the English workingmen, the general secretaries of the trade unions. The occasion was the London Exhibition of 1862, where the English workingmen met delegates from the French and Belgian working classes. They met again, in 1863, in a great meeting held in London to protest in favour of the Polish insurgents. To this French delegates also were sent. The idea of international association was mentioned.

The Frenchmen were men of a new generation (Tolain, Fribourg), who were not acquainted with the socialists of 1848; their ideal was Proudhon's mutualism, the association of workingmen without state intervention. The English from the trade unions, already accustomed to their national associations of workingmen, dreamed of an international association which, by extending joint responsibility among the workingmen of every nation, would

hinder employers from opposing workmen of one country to those of another.

They complained that, to break down strikes, English employers resorted to foreign labourers. There was no plan as yet for anything more than a professional association without political aim.

A final meeting in London, September 28, 1864, appointed a committee of 50 members to draw up the statutes for an association. The former revolutionists presented schemes: Mazzini one for a strongly centralized organization, Marx one for a federation. Mazzini's plan was rejected, as it did not seem to have been designed for a society of workingmen. Marx' plan was adopted, in the form of provisional statutes, in 1864.

The *International Association of Labourers* was organized as a federation. The members, who declared themselves faithful to the principles of the association, divided into self-governing *sections*, each having its committee. The subscription was very small, almost nominal. The Association had two common organs: the *Congress* of delegates from the sections, meeting once a year and invested with sovereign power, and the *General Council*, appointed by the Congress. The Council was to be stationary in London, and was charged with the preparation of business for the Congress and with conducting the correspondence with the sections. This was the system of the English trade societies, with no resemblance to the former revolutionary secret societies. No professional condition was required; the French delegates' proposal to admit only manual labourers had been rejected. In fact, not only workingmen joined the International, but also revolutionists and even middle-class philanthropists, as, for instance, Jules Simon. The avowed object was to establish a centre of union and of common methodical action between the workingmen's clubs of the different countries which aimed at the protection, progress, and emancipation of the labouring classes. It was to be accomplished now only by peaceful agreement.

The "International" gained members slowly. The first congress could not be held until 1866, at Geneva, where definite statutes were adopted. After this there was an annual congress, held in some small country, usually Switzerland; and Marx took the direction of the General Council, making it the real power. The International at once assumed the character of a political society, becoming more and more revolutionary at each congress.

The Congress of 1866, at Geneva, confined itself to formulating

general principles,* but it was here that Marx's theory of class strife first appeared. He recommended the organization of an understanding between workingmen against the intrigues of capitalists, and an investigation into the condition of the working classes in every country; also the encouragement of co-operative production and workingmen's syndicates. He demanded the abolition of standing armies.

The Congress of 1867, at Lausanne, declared "that the social emancipation of the labouring man is inseparable from political emancipation and that the acquisition of political liberty is a prime necessity." It voted that the state should assume control of transportation.

The Congress of 1868, at Brussels, protested against war and the wages system, pronounced itself in favour of the international organization of strikes, and demanded that mines and quarries, forests and means of communication should be made common property. On the land question it expressed the opinion that "economic evolution will make the taking of arable soil into the collective ownership of the state a social necessity." The International adopted Marx' collectivist doctrine.

The Congress of 1869, at Bâle, confirmed the resolutions of 1868, against the will of the French, who upheld individual property rights. It declared that "society has the right to convert private lands into collective lands, and that this transformation is necessary."

The International returned to the communist program of 1848: to unite the proletarians of every nation and establish collective ownership of implements of labour. But this was only a doctrine. No exact program was formulated as to the practical means of realizing it; and, besides, the International was opposed to the use of force. It was thought to be rich, like the trade unions; the workingmen clung to it to get support in case of strikes, and they had a chance to make reluctant employers yield by means of this imaginary aid. The members did not pay, however, and the treasury remained almost empty.

* "The emancipation of the labouring class must be accomplished by the labouring class itself. . . The economic emancipation of the labouring class is the final end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a means. This emancipation is neither a local nor national, but a social problem, which includes every country where modern society exists, and whose solution depends on the common action of the most advanced countries."

The International greatly alarmed the governments and the employing class. In France the committee of the Paris section was first prosecuted (1867), then all the leaders were arrested (1870). In reality it acted simply as a society for the propagation of doctrine, and its career was a brief one. It was at once attacked from without and disorganized from within.

The war of 1870 weakened it by exciting national patriotism against every international body; the protest of the General Council of the International against a war of German conquest, in September, 1870, passed unnoticed. The war brought on the Commune of Paris; this was not a product of the International, but rather a reminiscence of 1792; even the small minority of internationalists in the Commune were not representatives of the International. But after the defeat, Karl Marx, in the name of the General Council of the International, issued a manifesto in honour of the Paris of the labouring men and the martyrs of the labouring classes. The International, having rendered itself conjointly responsible with the Commune, was treated as insurrectionist. In France the Assembly passed a special law against it in 1872; in England the workingmen abandoned it. It was left almost without supporters, except in Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and the southern countries.

Meanwhile it was disorganized by an internal struggle. A Russian refugee in Switzerland, Bakounine, a revolutionist of '48, now an anarchist, had joined the International in 1868; he had just founded a federative society, the *International Alliance of the Social Democracy*, under the direction of a central committee established at Geneva, of which he himself was the head (see his program on p. 735). Its members belonged to the countries of the Romance languages—Italy, Spain, Belgium, and the Italian and French portions of Switzerland. He insisted on having it join the International, while preserving its own organization. The General Council replied that sections could be admitted, but not a federation. Bakounine decided to dissolve his *Alliance* and enter the sections separately into the International (1869). But the federation between them still existed secretly, and soon came into conflict with the General Council of the International on the questions of a congress of the Romance federation in 1870, and the terrorist propaganda of Netchajew in Russia (see p. 606). This was a contest between two revolutionary leaders, Bakounine and Marx,—between two groups of people, the men of the Romance languages, attached to Bakounine, and the men of the

North supporting Marx,—between two programs, Marx' collectivism and Bakounine's anarchism,—between two policies, Marx' legal political action and Bakounine's abstention from the polls and violent revolution,—between two organizations: Marx wished to strengthen the General Council for the general direction of the International; Bakounine to reduce it to the rôle of a "letter box," leaving each section independent.

The annual Congress of the International had been prevented in 1870 and 1871 by the war and the prosecution of the German socialists. The Congress of 1872, held at The Hague, had to decide between the two rivals; the struggle began with the proposal made by Bakounine's supporters to suppress the authority of the General Council; the Marxist majority were resolved, on the contrary, that the Council should have the right to suspend a section or even a federation. They voted to exclude Bakounine and the former members of the Alliance and transfer the session of the Council to New York. The Blanquists withdrew from the International, reproaching it with deserting the field of battle; there remained only the English, Germans, and Americans, who held one more congress, in 1873 at Geneva, and finally declared the association dissolved in 1876.

The International disappeared without having accomplished any positive results. Founded to secure social reforms by international agreement, it had succeeded only in alarming the governments and the public. This was the last attempt at international party organization.

Formation of the Socialist Platform in Germany (1863-75).—While the International was trying to create an international party of social revolution, a national socialist party was being formed in Germany, with a platform and an organization which furnished a model for all Europe.

The Socialist party was founded by Lassalle (see p. 479), an old revolutitionist of '48, who began with political conferences in connection with the conflict at Berlin (1862). The new generation of workingmen were ignorant of socialistic theories, but they were beginning to discuss means of improving their condition. A committee was formed at Leipzig to organize a workingmen's congress in which to discuss their interests. This committee consulted Lassalle, who replied with an "open letter," in March, 1863. He urged labouring men to form a workingmen's party independent of the middle-class parties, in order to gain control of political power. Their aim should be to escape the "iron law

of wages," which causes the wages of the labourer to be always reduced by competition to the minimum necessary for existence. Workingmen can rise out of their condition neither by the individual effort which the economists inculcate, nor even by private association (co-operative societies, syndicates, credit societies); they must have assistance from the state. The practical method is to create clubs of productive workmen with state appropriations. But to secure this appropriation they must gain political control and as a first condition demand universal suffrage. Lassalle thus revived Louis Blanc's ideas, universal suffrage and national workshops. He also revived the old name of *social democrat.* But he combined the socialistic doctrines of '48 with the theories of official political authority. This is what he calls "being armed with all the science of the epoch." (The "iron law of wages" was a theory of the liberal economists, first formulated by Turgot.)

Lassalle at first won the workmen of the manufacturing regions of the Rhine, and the Leipzig Congress created the "General Union of German Workingmen" (May, 1863). This was strongly centralized under the direction of a president elected for five years. Lassalle, elected president, went to Berlin to struggle against the progressist party and entered into relations with Bismarck (see p. 479). After his death, in 1864, his party remained a German patriotic party at once monarchical and democratic, with a limited socialist program.

The Marx party was organized later. It began with the secession of the Germans of the International from Lassalle's national party, which was accused of having sold itself to the Prussian government. It was formed by the conversion to socialism of the societies in Saxony (see p. 479), which joined the International in 1868.

The party was constituted at the Eisenach Congress in 1869, where the first complete socialist program was drawn up. The majority (262 against 110) belonged to Marx' disciples; it reproduced his doctrines and formulæ. Marx, who had just published his system in the first volume of "Capital" (1867), proceeded like Lassalle, giving to his socialist doctrines of 1848 the form of a scientific system. His theory of value rested on the official doctrine of 1848 that value is the product of labour. He avoided the sentimental and Utopian allurements of the former socialists. The doctrine remained otherwise the same as in 1848, very different from the old Babouvist communism, which imposed a sharing of

goods and a common life. Marx limited himself to making the means of *production* common property. *Communism*, out of favour since 1848, was replaced by *collectivism*.

The party took the name of the *social democratic party of workingmen*, the old name of '48. The platform was divided into three parts: 1. the object; 2. the principles which the members promised to maintain;* 3. the immediate practical program. The doctrine is that of the manifesto of 1848: class strife, conquest of political power to attain a social revolution, international understanding. The immediate program is that of the radical democratic party,† with the addition of certain social reforms: limitation of the working day, diminution of labour for women, prohibition of child labour, single progressive tax on income and inheritance, state appropriations to associations of producers (this last article to win Lassalle's supporters).

The organization was federative, opposed to that of Lassalle. Bebel declared that they wished to prevent "faith in authority" and "personal creeds." The members from a single city met without forming a permanent society to escape the laws against associations, and chose a trustworthy man to convoke the meetings and collect the subscriptions. Each year the elected delegates met in congress to regulate general affairs. The congress

*1. The object is "the creation of the free democratic state" (*Volksstaat*).

The principles are: "The existing social and political conditions are unjust in the highest degree, and should be fought with the greatest energy. The struggle for the emancipation of the labouring class is a struggle . . . for equality in rights and duties and the abolition of all class domination. . . The party seeks in abolishing the existing system of production (the wages system) to secure through associated labour the full product of his toil for each workman. Political liberty is the most indispensable condition for economic emancipation . . . the social question . . . can be resolved only in a democratic state. Political and economic emancipation of the labouring class is possible only if it fights for it in common. Emancipation is neither local nor national, but a social problem. . . The party considers itself a branch of the International."

† Universal suffrage at 21 years of age in all elections (universal suffrage exists in Germany only for the Reichstag, and only for men over 25 years of age),—pay for representatives,—direct legislation (referendum),—abolition of all privileges of class, property, birth, or religion,—national militia,—separation of Church and state,—lay school, compulsory in the primary degree and free to all,—free justice, with juries and oral procedure,—liberty of the press, of meetings, and of unions,—abolition of indirect taxes.

appointed an executive committee of 5 members under the supervision of a controlling committee of 11 members, the two residing in two different cities. There was a party organ, supported by subscription.

The two German socialist parties held separate congresses, presented separate candidates, and fought against each other until 1875; but associations being prosecuted and dissolved in Prussia under the law against the union (*Verband*) of political societies, they united in one party, the *socialist party of the workingmen of Germany*. Their common platform, set up at Gotha in 1875, may be divided into two parts, an exposition of doctrine and a program. The doctrine * was that of the Marxist program of 1869, stated precisely and combined with the Lassalle formulæ, without thought for the contradictions: "labour the sole origin of wealth" and "the iron law of wages,"—"creation of associations of production with government aid," and "emancipation of the labouring classes by the formation of a political workingmen's party,"—the "international character of the movement" and "action within national lines." †

The program is in two parts: 1. the political ideal, "foundation of the state": universal suffrage, direct legislation, militia; complete liberty of the press, of association and public meeting, justice by the people, universal and gratuitous education, religion declared a private matter (this is the democratic program of 1869); 2. immediate social reforms (in existing society): extension of rights in the idealistic sense, progressive income tax, freedom of coalition, length of day fixed by law, interdiction of child labour, laws for the protection of the workingman, sanitary

* Marx wrote his partisans a violent letter against this conciliatory program: it was not made public until 1890, in the *Neue Zeit*.

† These are the principal passages. "Labour is the source of all wealth . . . and is possible only through society. The whole product of labour therefore belongs to society, that is, to all its members, with universal duty of labour and equal rights; to each, according to his reasonable wants. . . Emancipation of labour demands the transformation of the means of labour into the common property of society, the corporative regulation of all labour. . . It must be the work of the labouring class, in the face of which all other classes are only a reactionary mass. The party . . . will try all legal means of securing a free state and socialistic society, the breaking down of the iron law of wages by the abolition of the wages system of labour, the suppression of employment in every form, the disappearance of all social and political inequality. The party . . . though acting primarily within national lines, is conscious of the international character of the movement."

control of factories, mines, and lodgings, liability of the employer, regulation of prison labour.

The organization was federative, similar to that of the Marxists in 1869: local self-governing groups; an annual congress of delegates, invested with sovereign power; a government composed of 3 organs—a directory (*Vorstand*) of 5 members, a board of control of 7 members sitting in another city, a commission of 18 members to serve as arbiter between the two; a party publication and a fund.

The doctrine differed little from the manifesto of 1848, the organization resembled that of the International. Marx' attempt, which had failed under the name of communism and the form of an international society, finally succeeded under the name of collectivism and the form of a national party. The creation of this party in Germany was an international event. For the first time in a great state a socialist workingmen's party was formed, directed by a permanent organization,—a central government, an annual congress, and an official organ,—maintaining a regular budget, working in the name of a definite program, at once doctrinal and practical, and holding a permanent place among political parties. This German party was to furnish a model to the socialists of other countries; as it preserved the international spirit of its founder, it revived by example and propaganda the work the International had failed to accomplish.

The Anarchist Parties.—The words *anarchy* and *anarchist* were for a long time only injurious terms applied to revolutionists by their enemies. Proudhon first gave the name of *anarchy* to his system. In so far as a positive formula may be deduced from his works, which are mainly critical and controversial, his ideal was a federation of voluntary associations of workingmen and farmers without political government. Among the revolutionists between 1840 and 1848, some showed a similar tendency, but they did not form a party (Hess and Grün in Germany, Marr in Switzerland).

The creator of the anarchist party was Bakounine, a Russian officer and militant revolutionist who had become a disciple of Proudhon during his stay in Paris (1843-47). He took from Proudhon the idea of anarchy and federation, but he added to it hatred of civilized institutions and systematic calls for violence to destroy them. He declared the oppressed classes incapable of emancipating themselves; if they should reconstruct a new society they would make it as oppressive as the old one. It was

therefore necessary to avoid every positive creation and simply "unchain all the so-called evil passions and destroy all of what is known as public order." The tactics must consist in exciting riots.

The *Alliance of the Social Democracy* founded by Bakounine in 1868 had secret statutes and an anarchistic program; it demanded not only full equality for all and collective ownership of land and the implements of labour, but "universal revolution—social, philosophic, economic, and political." Its aim was to destroy all the governments and all the churches, together with their religious, political, financial, judicial, police, university, economic, and social institutions."

In 1869 the Alliance joined the International, then left it with Bakounine in 1872. It was composed of revolutionists of the Romanic countries, the most unruly and violent members of the International, the Italian section, the Spanish section that took part in the cantonalist insurrections (see p. 313), a Belgian section, and the *Jura Federation*, recruited among the clock-makers in the canton of Neuchâtel, a small but very active section. It held congresses in 1872, '73, '74, '76, and '77.

Few in number and sharply combated by the socialists, the anarchists gained almost no members except in the countries where the socialist party had not yet been organized. They did, however, acquire a political influence disproportionate to their numbers by adopting the methods of the Russian terrorists—the commission of murder and outrage by means of explosives. This method they exalted into a theory, which has given them universal notoriety. The revolutionary parties had heretofore employed acts of violence only to produce a decisive effect by destroying some objectionable individual. The anarchists valued acts of violence as a means of publicity, committing them in order to attract the attention of the public to the vices of society and force it to reflect. This was *propagation by facts*.

The anarchist party, by the very nature of its policy, was unable to make itself a permanent party. As soon as an active group was formed in a country, it made itself conspicuous by its actions, and was quickly exterminated. There remained only the anarchist writers, whom the governments tolerated and surrounded with spies. In addition to this, the majority of anarchists, both by temperament and doctrine, refused to recognise even voluntary authority. They formed "groups" of "comrades" rather than parties and did not work in harmony. In

fact their political influence was limited to the reactions brought on by their propaganda of outrage, and their history was nothing but a recital of individual demonstrations in different countries.

The remnants of the *Alliance* and the Paris "group" held at London in 1881 a congress which declared it "necessary to use all possible means to spread actively revolutionary ideas and the spirit of revolt among the masses, who as yet take no active part in the movement and delude themselves on the morality and efficacy of legal methods." It recommended the study of chemistry, "which has already rendered great service to the revolutionary cause."

An anarchist movement was made in France from 1872 to 1882, in the southeast and in Paris. It was chiefly noticeable for the doctrinal teachings of two writers, Kropotkin and E. Reclus, and for the Lyons explosion, followed by prompt repression (1882).

The anarchist movement produced in Austria by Most and Peukert (1882-85) was crushed by special laws and arrests *en masse*. The last anarchist movements were produced at Paris from 1892 to 1894, in Italy, and in Spain. In the German countries the movement was checked by the socialist party. In England, London served as a refuge for foreign anarchists, but no anarchistic acts were perpetrated there.

Formation of the National Socialist Parties.—The German socialists, in order to gain the political power necessary for social revolution, had provisionally renounced the international organization and had constituted themselves as a national party with an electoral and parliamentary organization.

The other countries have gradually imitated them. Evolution was at first retarded by the anarchists' resistance to the *Alliance*, then by internal divisions among the socialists, and the repressive measures taken by the governments. But almost everywhere a socialist workingmen's party has been formed on the model of the German party and with a similar program. In Austria, after the destruction of the anarchists, the "social democratic workingmen's party" was constituted in 1888, with an international * collectivist program and an organization composed as in Germany of a congress, a directory, and a board of control. It has

*"The party . . . is an international party; it condemns the privilege of nations, as well as those of birth, sex, and property, and declares that the struggle against exploitation must be international like exploitation itself."

especially made demonstrations in favour of universal suffrage and the eight-hour day. In the three Scandinavian countries, Holland, and Belgium, the party has been constructed after the German model. In Poland the party, formed in 1882 in the manufacturing cities of Russian Poland, was crushed in 1885. It was revived in 1892-93 with a collectivist platform copied from Germany; but this is a party of Polish patriots who demand the reconstitution of Poland as a democratic republic. In France and the Romanic countries the collectivist ideas have gradually permeated all the revolutionary parties; but they have not adopted a regular organization and a central management.

The German party, obliged to dissolve its official organization and to hold its congresses abroad (see p. 479) while the special laws were in force (1878-90), took advantage of the return to ordinary law to reorganize. It took the name of the social democratic party (1890), restored the organization by local groups (ordinarily constituted in the form of electoral committees), and decided to push socialist propagandism in the rural districts. The Congress of Erfurt, in 1891, revised the program, suppressing the passages which recalled Lassalle's doctrine and developing much more broadly Marx' theory that natural evolution will do away with private property and prepare for collectivism. The party set itself the task of organizing class struggles by arousing the workingmen to the necessity of contest. To this main object they have added emancipation of women, free medical care, and free burials. In labour legislation they demand extension to farm labourers and domestic servants of the measures taken for the factory operatives.

Thus in the majority of the European states socialist parties have been created, with a democratic constitution, composed of two organs: an annual congress of elected representatives, a sovereign deliberative assembly which determines the program and general policy; a permanent committee chosen by the congress and charged with the executive functions. It is a complete government provided with the means of practical action: a fund, an organ, and an electoral organization. Each party is constituted within the lines of a single nation, since it has to act through a single parliament. There are, indeed, in some countries several rival socialist parties.

The socialist doctrine rests on the same principles everywhere. The existing economic system is unfavourable to the labouring class; the reform must be the work of the labouring class; it will

be accomplished by gaining political control and employing the power of the state to establish the collective ownership of instruments of production, including the soil.

The practical reforms aimed at are political and social. Their political program is the former radical democratic program, pushed to the farthest logical consequences: absolute equality, meaning universal suffrage, even for women; equal military service; complete instruction for all; absolute liberty, meaning liberty of the press, of public meeting and association; the complete separation of Church and state; complete laicization; absolute fraternity, meaning general peace, disarmament, no more distinction between natives and foreigners, international regulation of all common affairs.

The socialist party takes the title *democratic;* it is from the democratic parties that it draws its members, it is from the democratic doctrine as a starting-point that it goes on to demand a social revolution. In Germany and Austria, it holds the position of radical party. In the countries with restricted suffrage, Austria, the Scandinavian states, Holland, and Italy, it demands universal suffrage, as the socialists demanded it in France prior to 1848, in Germany prior to 1866, and in Belgium prior to 1893.

The socialist program aims at practical reforms in detail to improve the condition of the labouring classes (syndicates, legislation in favour of the workingman, regulation of wages and the length of the working day, superannuation fund), and measures to begin economic transformation in the collectivist sense (socialization of railroads, mines, and insurance, progressive income tax). The program also keeps in view the ultimate goal of complete collectivism, as an aim to be realized in the future.

Altogether it is a political, democratic, levelling, liberal, lay, pacific, democratic program, joined to a program of eventual state socialism, working through legislation and taxation. Of these two independent programs it is difficult to determine which attracts the more members to the socialist parties.

Policy of the Revolutionary Parties.—During the first half of the century revolutionary parties knew no means of action but violent revolution, such as Mazzini's conspiracies in Italy and Blanqui's insurrectional uprisings in France. All their successes in that period were due to revolt, in the army or in the capital.

In the second half of the century the governments being better armed (see p. 674), the revolutionists have conceived a different policy, namely, peaceful propagandism to attain legal acquisition

of power. The association founded by Lassalle declared in its statutes in 1863 that its object was to work by "peaceful and legal means," by winning public favour. The Marxist socialist party, even while announcing their purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, made it a rule to avoid outbreaks. The doctrine of natural evolution toward the collectivist system, inculcated among the socialists by Marx, turned them from sudden revolution, which was useless as it was premature and dangerous because it might cause the destruction of the party. The Gotha program of 1875 declared that the party was acting "by all legal means," and this clause was suppressed in 1880 only in response to the special law of 1878, which made even the propagation of socialistic doctrines illegal.

What policy must it adopt to prepare the way for social revolution? This is the question that has dominated the policy of the revolutionary parties, that has caused almost all their internal discord, their ruptures and division into groups.

The radical democratic party has lost all revolutionary character, except in Russia, and has become a parliamentary party. It proceeds by proposing reforms in detail through legislation and by endeavouring to gain a parliamentary majority and thereby the ministry.

Certain socialist revolutionary parties have also detached themselves, at the other extreme—notably, the anarchist party. In the negative criticism of society the anarchists agree with the socialists; they long talked the same language and worked in harmony, and the public continues to confound them together as equally hostile to existing social order. But difference in temperament has led them to radically different policies. Common action has now become impossible; an irreconcilable enmity has arisen between them.

The anarchists, unwilling to bind themselves to a party discipline in order to prepare a revolution which would not bring absolute liberty to the individual, refused to join in any political action, scorned elections and assemblies and recommended violent action to rouse public opinion. Those of them who wished to act, employed the criminal tactics of the Russian terrorists. The German socialists expressly condemned these methods in 1887.*

* "Force is a factor as reactionary as revolutionary, and even more often the former than the latter. The policy of the individual use of force does not accomplish its object; and, wounding as it does the sense of popular rights, it is positively injurious, and therefore to be condemned."

The socialists have taken a stand halfway between the radical democrats and the anarchists, thus avoiding both purely parliamentary action and violent action. But this general principle, variously interpreted, has led to various tactics: of these at least three may be distinguished—two extreme, leading the one toward radical, the other toward anarchistic methods; the third, a sort of mean between these two.

1. The official policy of the German Marxist parties has consisted in the adoption of the forms of parliamentary political parties, but only as a means of spreading socialistic doctrines. The party presents candidates at the elections, sends deputies to the political assemblies, and organizes them in a parliamentary group; but in entering the electoral and parliamentary arena of middle-class society, it declares that it does not count on elections or assemblies to bring about social reform. It sees in them only a means of publishing its ideas, of agitating public opinion, of gaining adherents, of organizing them and counting them, caring more for the total number of socialist votes than for the number of deputies elected. It regards assemblies as a platform from which to set forth its doctrines, refuses to take part in parliamentary work by proposing slight social reforms, and avoids relations with other parties. But it recommends abstention from any revolutionary movement which might give the government a pretext for crushing the party. This is a policy of revolutionary agitation by parliamentary processes, the object of which is a peaceful realization of a complete revolution.

2. On the left, making the transition toward anarchy, comes the policy of revolutionary abstention destined to prepare a sudden revolution. It consists in avoiding contact with electoral and parliamentary life which would involve compromises, cause principles to be forgotten and revolutionists to mingle with society by accustoming them to that of the middle class. The party must therefore abstain from every regular political act and hold itself ready for revolution. As to the means of bringing about the revolution opinions diverge: the Blanquists have clung to the old policy of civil war, which becomes more and more impracticable; others prefer economic war, a *general strike.* This is a policy of extra-parliamentary agitation, looking forward to a complete revolution by force.

3. On the right, making the transition toward the political radicals, has appeared more recently a group advocating a policy of gradual progress and of compromise. While waiting for the

chance to realize the whole ideal, this group is willing to realize fragments of it in the form of laws. It is therefore willing to enter into parliamentary life, to make terms with parties hostile to social revolution, and induce them to accept partial social reforms. To attract voters, it has begun to present programs reduced to certain practical reforms without doctrinal character. In order to reassure rural voters, in particular, it has come to abandon the principle of collectivism of all instruments of production. It would admit small individual ownership for the peasant who cultivates his land himself. This is a policy of parliamentary action with a view to a gradual social reform.

The socialist parties have had to choose between these policies, and that which each has adopted has determined its general attitude in political life: abstention, entrance into politics as a means of agitation, entrance into politics in contact with non-socialist parties. Altogether they have tended to gravitate from the policy of the Left to that of the Right, passing through the intermediate stage of primitive Marxism; but the parties of the different policies have been preserved in each country, and remain rivals.

The policy of semi-anarchistic revolutionary abstention has been that of the old parties, small in numbers, who can hope for nothing except through a surprise; its supporters have been reduced to petty groups, impatient at delay or dissatisfied with the conduct of socialist representatives forced to mingle with other members of parliament. This is the attitude of certain French groups, *Blanquists* and *Allemanists;** of a fraction of the Dutch socialist party, and of a small Berlin group of *Independents* or Striplings, as they were called, who accused the party leaders of having killed the revolutionary spirit and made the socialist party a mere reform party. This group was expelled by the Congress of 1891.

The Marxist policy was that of a *doctrinaire* party, confident of ultimate triumph and fearing to retard it by any imprudence, but reproached by all other parties and replying to their scorn with violent language and systematic abstention from parliamentary action. The system of special laws prolonged this attitude in Germany. But since the abandonment of special laws, the German party, while fully retaining the principle of its tradi-

* A fusion with the anarchists was attempted, under the name of *liberty-loving communism.*

tional policy, has inclined toward the policy of the socialist Right.*.

The policy of gradual reform had, in 1882, been adopted by the majority of the labouring men's party, which led to the rupture between the *possibilists* and the Orthodox Marxist group (see p. 217). Since the official reconciliation of 1893 it has been the prevailing policy. It has succeeded in forming, under the name of *radical socialists*, a group which makes a connecting link between the socialists and the main body of the republican party. It showed itself at the Congress of Nantes in 1894, by the adoption of a program of land reforms destined to attract the peasants by assuring to them the preservation of peasant properties, and enrolling them against "the common enemy, the feudalism of large land-holding." This is also the policy of the English *Fabians Society*. The Belgian socialists have in like manner entered into relations with the progressist party. In Germany, this policy has been discussed, since 1891, in the party congresses. Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian socialists, wished in 1891 to discuss in the *Reichstag* bills drawn up in the interest of the labouring man. The leaders of the party, Bebel and Liebknecht, opposed this in the name of maintaining a class struggle against the ruling classes and the state. By abandoning this struggle for the sake of a single practical aim, it would become a mere party of opportunity. The Congress avoided committing itself. The South German socialists adopted a policy similar to that of the French radical socialists; their deputies to the Bavarian *Landtag* refused to reject the budget in the lump (1894). In the same year the Frankfort Congress decided to leave the socialists in each state free to choose their own policy. A plan for land reform, designed to attract the peasants, was rejected by the Congress of 1895; but the Bavarian socialists continued to agitate in this direction and the Halle Congress of 1896 again discussed this policy without reaching a definite conclusion.

The International Socialist Congresses.—Since the dissolution of the International the national socialist parties have attempted to maintain the international understanding by congresses in

* "While the conquest of political power cannot be the work of a moment, nor the outcome of a momentarily successful surprise, but can be secured only by persistent labour and by skilful use of all means of spreading our ideas,—resolved that there is no reason to alter the policy of the party."

which a program of social reforms of general interest is theoretically discussed. But the practical question that dominates the deliberations is to decide on what conditions the delegates may be admitted to sit in the Congress, that is, whether delegates from the anarchist groups should be refused or admitted. This is the ground of dispute between the semi-anarchistic socialists and the "authoritarians" or Marxists.

The first Congress, at Ghent in 1877, was a victory for the "authoritarians." The anarchists had been admitted to it, and another attempt at conciliation was made. The organization of production was discussed; the anarchists proposed their ideal of free productive groups keeping in harmony with each other by force of common interest without any higher power over them. The Authoritarians carried the principle that the state, representative of the whole people, "should own the land and the instruments of labour." They also pronounced labour-unions "one of the most efficacious means in the struggle of labourers against being exploited by capitalists."

The Congress of 1881, whose meeting at Zurich was prevented by the government, was reduced to the Conference of Coire, which was not large enough to take action. The meetings of 1883 and 1886 were reduced to conferences held at Paris by French Possibilists and English delegates from the trade unions; the Marxists refused to consider them real congresses.

The division of French socialists was shown by the two congresses held at Paris on the same day, July 14, 1889. One, convoked by the Possibilists and chiefly French (524 French delegates out of 606), demanded "complete education," minimum wage, and workshops supported by the government. The other, that of the Marxists (221 French delegates out of 395), voted the Marxist doctrine, equal pay for women, liberty of coalition, resolutions in favour of the eight-hour day, prohibition of labour of children and women, prohibition of unhealthy and night labour, rest of thirty-six consecutive hours each week, suppression of employment offices and employers' bureaus, and the creation of factory boards of inspection, composed one-half of workingmen. It invited the proletarians of all nations to organize an international demonstration for the eight-hour day, on the Labour festival of May 1. It condemned standing armies and made a demonstration at the graves of the "martyrs of the Commune."

The Congress of Brussels, in 1891, demanded, for admission,

that delegates should declare their recognition of "the necessity of political struggle," which shut out the anarchists. It congratulated itself on the influence exercised by the Congress of 1889, which had caused Emperor William to call together the international conference of 1890 to consider labour legislation. It complained that the laws for the protection of the labouring man were ill applied, decided upon an investigation of the conditions of the labouring class, and invited the labourers of the whole world to use their political rights to free themselves from the bondage of the wage system. It refused even to discuss anti-Semitism, resting on the principle of all socialist parties, who "do not recognise any antipathies of nations or races, but only a struggle of the wage-earning class of all countries against the capitalist class of all countries." It undertook to organize itself in syndicates to direct the struggle. The Marxist majority rejected the proposition, made by Domela Niewenhuis, to reply, in case of a declaration of war, by a general strike.

The Congress of Zurich in 1893 (440 delegates) excluded the anarchists, who demanded admission because their methods also constituted a form of political influence. It passed resolutions regarding the festival of May 1, the eight-hour day, the political tactics of the socialists, the organization of syndicates, and the attitude to be taken in case of war. It rejected the general strike and confined itself to inviting the socialist deputies to vote against any war budget and to demand disarmament. In order to cut short attempts at agrarian conciliation, it voted the principle of the collective ownership of the soil.

The Congress of London in 1896 (800 delegates) excluded the anarchists; the minority, which had voted to admit them (144 votes against 223), was a coalition of the opponents of the Marxists, chiefly English and French. The Congress voted resolutions in favour of universal suffrage, the referendum, emancipation of women, nationalization of railroads, mines, and factories, and abolition of customs duties; against standing armies and colonial expansion.

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CHAPTER XXV.

EUROPE UNDER THE METTERNICH SYSTEM,* 1815-30.

European Questions in 1815.—The great powers had, in 1814 and 1815, regulated the whole organization of Europe, the division of territory, and even the internal government (see chap. i.), and had agreed together to maintain this regulation. Europe of "the treaties of 1815" rested on a permanent alliance of five great states, designed to defend the European balance of power and the legitimate monarchies, that is, to prevent the return of the revolutionary governments and the French wars of conquest.

All these states were aristocratic monarchies: three absolutist; Russia, Austria, and Prussia; the other two constitutional, England and France, but with executive governments that were masters of foreign policy. All decisions depended, therefore, on a very small number of men, the sovereigns and their ministers; the personal sentiments, impressions, and wills of these few decided the fate of Europe. All were not actually of the same weight. The King of France and his ministers, absorbed by domestic affairs and dominated by the necessity of peace; the English statesmen of the Tory party, advocates of the *status quo* and indifferent to continental affairs; the King of Prussia, timid, hesitating, docile to the counsels of Metternich, all desired to

* In these last chapters (xxv.–xxviii.) on the relations between the states, I have deliberately broken away from the traditional custom of introducing into political history the recital of the details of war and diplomatic negotiations. These details, indispensable to technical histories of the art of war and diplomacy written for specialists, generals, and diplomatists, have seemed to me out of place in a general history; they are no aid to the understanding of political evolution. I relate here, in regard to diplomatic and military events, only what is strictly necessary to explain how questions of foreign policy have arisen, in what form and by what means they have been settled. The wars which have had a direct effect upon internal policy have been already described in the history of each country; there remain here only international events.

avoid foreign complications and pursued only a passive policy. The only governments capable of taking the initiative and able to impose a policy on the others were the two empires of Russia and Austria, which practically meant Alexander I. and Metternich. On their harmony or discord depended the policy of the great powers, and consequently the decision of European affairs.

As early as 1815 a number of questions began to occupy the diplomatists. 1. France had joined the alliance, but the Hundred Days had given the impression that her legitimate government was threatened. Must she be freely admitted to the European concert or kept under surveillance and controlled in her domestic affairs? This was the French question, which was settled at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

2. The Allies had guaranteed each state its territory, but not its internal government. Must they be left to establish new constitutions or should the Allies intervene to maintain absolute monarchy? This was the *intervention* question, decided in connection with the Italian revolutions.

3. The Allies had guaranteed the maintenance of all territory in Europe except the Ottoman Empire. Must they also maintain the integrity of the Sultan's territory? This was the Eastern question, already brought up at the Congress of Vienna, where the Tsar refused to have it discussed. It was to come up again with the Greek insurrection.

4. The Allies had decided nothing about the American colonies. Should they intervene to subject the Spanish colonies? The question arose in 1815 and was not decided until the Congress of Verona.

The Holy Alliance (1815).—The treaties of 1815 had been purely political acts, with no religious character. Alexander, influenced by Christian mysticists,* wished to re-enforce the political alliance of the sovereigns by a religious alliance. The King of Prussia, bound to him by ties of friendship during the campaigns of 1813 to 1815, and being personally a very religious man, approved this plan. The Emperor of Austria accepted it out of politeness to the Tsar. The three sovereigns, meeting once more in France, concluded a compact which was solemnly published, under the name of the *Holy Alliance*, September 26, 1815.

* He was at this time subject to Mme. de Krüdener, whose acquaintance he had made in May, 1815; she was a mysticist, born at Riga, in the Baltic provinces, and had passed some years in Switzerland.

This treaty, unprecedented in European diplomacy, began with an invocation to "the most holy and indivisible Trinity," and contained simply religious declarations and moral pledges. "Having acquired the intimate conviction that it is necessary to base the course to be pursued by the powers in their mutual relations on the sublime truths which are taught by the eternal religion of God the Preserver of mankind, the sovereigns solemnly declare that the present act is only to show, in the face of the world, their invincible determination to take for their rule of conduct . . . only the precepts of that holy religion, the precepts of justice, charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private life, should, on the contrary, influence the resolutions of princes and guide all their steps.

"In conformity with the words of Holy Scripture, which order all men to regard themselves as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will live united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and on every occasion and in every place they will lend each other aid and succor; regarding themselves in relation to their subjects as fathers of families, they will direct them in the same spirit of fraternity . . . to protect religion, peace, and justice. The only working principle between the governments or their subjects will be to render reciprocal service, . . . to consider themselves all as members of a single Christian nation, the three allied princes considering themselves only as agents of Providence to govern three branches of the same family . . . thus confessing that the Christian nation of which they and their peoples form a part has really no other sovereign but . . . God, our divine Saviour Jesus Christ, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life."

This was a compact of Christian fraternity opposed to revolutionary fraternity, but concluded outside of the churches, in the name of the peoples, by the sovereigns, "the agents of Providence." This Holy Alliance between three princes of rival faiths, one Catholic, one schismatic, one heretic, was not pleasing to the court of Rome. A notable Catholic writer, J. de Maistre, denounced it as filled with the "spirit of *visionaries* . . . who opposed *religiousness* to *religion*"; the true title should have been: "Convention by which the princes declare that all Christians are but one family professing the same religion, and that the different denominations that distinguish them signify nothing." It was, in fact, a demonstration of *indifferentism*, a heresy condemned by the Church.

The treaty invited the other powers to join this Holy Alliance and "to confess solemnly its sacred principles." Louis XVIII. adhered to it out of deference to the Tsar; the majority of sovereigns did likewise. The English government refused, giving as its reason that such a general alliance could not be countersigned by any minister, and every act of the English King must be countersigned by a minister.

The Holy Alliance remained a solemn demonstration without practical result; Metternich called it a "sonorous nothing." It did, however, produce a distinct impression upon the enemies of the Restoration, especially in France. The public confused it with the alliance of the powers against France; it became a common thing to designate the Allies of 1814 by the name of *Holy Alliance*, which became to the liberals a synonym for war against France and liberalism.

Rivalry between Alexander I. and Metternich (1815-18).—The apparent harmony between the governments of the great states concealed a secret struggle between the two men who were then determining the policy of Europe, Alexander and Metternich. They were opposed in character, political ideals, and practical interests.

Alexander, naturally tender, easily influenced, religious, compassionate, was devoted to his duties and open to humanitarian ideas. Educated by a liberal instructor, the Waldensian Laharpe, he held an ideal of constitutional monarchy with predominance of the sovereign, almost the same as the Tory theory. In harmony with England he had assisted in supporting a constitutional system in France and Switzerland, and had himself granted a constitution to his kingdom of Poland.

Metternich, a *blasé* and sceptical diplomat, insensible to pity, followed only the policy of interest, and regarded as the fundamental interest the preservation and support of all existing institutions. "The basis of modern policy is and must be *repose*," he wrote in 1817. An enemy to revolution in all its forms, he declared his preference for aristocratic absolute monarchy, and regarded a constitution as a weapon for revolutionists.

Between Alexander and Metternich the chief ground of dispute was the internal organization of the European states and the attitude toward parties. Alexander supported the liberal constitutionalists, Metternich combated them. The envoys from Russia and Austria to the secondary courts strove against each other by intrigues for influence over the governments. In

Germany the Russian agents supported the princes who wished to grant constitutions to their subjects—Weimar, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria. Alexander became the protector of the constitutional states of southern Germany; the governments of Baden and Bavaria, contesting for possession of the Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine, both appealed to him. In Italy, the King of Sardinia, invited by Metternich in 1815 to sign a special treaty with Austria (see p. 329), asked help from England, which advised him to accept; he then appealed to Alexander, who said that the general alliance excluded all separate treaties; thus Austria was defeated in her plan for an Italian confederation under her influence. In Spain, the Russian ambassador, all-powerful with King Ferdinand, maintained, in spite of the absolutist party, the Garay ministry, which was attempting financial reform; overstepping his instructions he promised money and even the acquisition of Portugal and tried to secure for the insurgent American colonies an amnesty and a charter (see p. 290). In France Alexander upheld the ministry of Richelieu (who as governor of Odessa, had spent many years in Russia), in support of the Charter, against the *Introuvable* Chamber, which was trying to force the King to take a ministry of *Ultras* (see p. 117). He sent Louis XVIII. a note against the *Ultra* demonstrations, in which he declared that the object of the treaty of 1815 was to consolidate the order of things established in France in 1814. This was to be done by the inviolable maintenance of royal authority and the observance of the Constitutional Charter. He urged Louis XVIII. to dissolve the Chamber.

In addition to direct intervention with the governments, Alexander was in relations with the notables of the opposition parties; or at least the liberal malcontents gained authority from his name. It was well known that he did not like the Bourbons (see p. 103) and that he favoured religious propaganda outside of the established churches. The Bonapartists, who organized a plot in Belgium, in 1816, to drive out the Bourbons and replace them by the Prince of Orange, the brother-in-law of the Tsar, intimated that the Tsar was friendly to them. In Italy Metternich attributed the liberal and national agitation to Russian emissaries; he accused them later (1819) of "presiding over clubs of *Carbonari*," and complained of the Tsar's encouragement of Bible societies. He wrote to the Emperor of Austria: "Since 1815 Alexander has given up Jacobinism to throw himself into mysti-

cism. Always, as his tendency is constantly revolutionary, his religious sentiments are equally so. . . The desire of making proselytes holds first place in all his calculations. It is in this spirit that he enlists the Jacobins in Italy and the sects in Europe." (Metternich includes under the head of Jacobins all partisans of a constitutional system.) He calls "the attention of cabinets to the progress of the sects which are beginning to menace the peace of central Europe." He regarded Mme. de Krüdener as particularly dangerous "because her preachings are all designed to excite the indigent classes against landowners" (1817).

In the Orient Alexander had pursued a policy of conquest. In Napoleon's time he had already concluded a preliminary alliance between France and Russia, leaving the West to France, on condition of having a free field in the East. He had begun the conquest of the Ottoman Empire in 1806 and had kept a piece of it, Bessarabia. Metternich suspected him of wishing to renew the close alliance with France and to begin conquest once more. Alexander had refused, at the Congress of Vienna, to include the Sultan among the sovereigns whose territory was guaranteed. In reality he was tired of the war on the Danube, as it was breaking up the Russian army; he wanted no further complications on this side; in 1817 he refused to hear the envoy from a Greek patriotic society who had come to implore his assistance.

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle and Alexander's Conversion (1818).—The rivalry between Alexander and Metternich had been of profit to the liberals, by diminishing the violence of the absolutist reaction in the countries subject to the Tsar's influence. But little by little Alexander became alarmed at the progress of the liberal parties. Metternich began to gain influence over him and to draw him into supporting the absolutist policy.

Alexander's conversion began on the question of French policy. Since 1815 the Allies had been taking precautions against a return of the Revolution. Their ambassadors in Paris met once a week to talk over the state of affairs in France, give advice to the French government, supervise the payment of the army of occupation, and decide the movements of the troops. The instructions given to Wellington, the commander of the army of occupation, on November 3, 1815, informed him that the Allies had "formally promised King Louis XVIII. the sup-

port of their arms against any revolutionary convulsion" and left the management of the troops to his discretion.

The treaty of November 20, 1815, excluded from the government of France Napoleon and his family "for the general tranquillity of Europe" and established between the four Allies a permanent league of supervision over France. It was agreed "to renew at stated intervals meetings sacred to the great common interests and to the examination of the measures which in each of these periods shall be deemed most salutary to the peace and prosperity of Europe." The idea was to make these congresses a regular institution through which the great powers should control Europe and watch over France.

The first opportunity for holding a congress was the political state of France. The Richelieu ministry implored Alexander to hasten the evacuation of French territory. The English government consented to diminish the army of occupation on payment of a part of the indemnity; France procured the money by a 5 per cent. loan, subscribed for at 55 by an English bank, in February, 1817.

The Allies decided to hold a meeting to settle upon definite terms of evacuation; Alexander proposed a congress like that at Vienna, to which all the states of Europe should be invited. Metternich, in order to avoid the worries he had endured at Vienna, secured the adoption of a conference between the four Allies alone, to which France should be invited.

This conference, wrongly termed the *Congress* of Aix-la-Chapelle, held in November, 1818, was a personal meeting of the three sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia and of the prime ministers of the five great powers. The four Allies began by agreeing among themselves before admitting France. They arranged terms for evacuation in October. Alexander, already disturbed by the discovery of a secret society of Russian officers, was greatly alarmed by the liberal success at the elections of October in France (he had already advised Louis XVIII. to change the electoral law).* Metternich took advantage of these impressions to secure a secret convention between the four Allies,

*An agent of the Ultra party, Vitrolles, sent a note to the Russian ambassador begging the Tsar to check the revolutionary movement by asking the King to change his ministry. A secret note to this effect was communicated to the Decazes ministry. The ministers published it, and accused the Ultras of having conspired against the king; this was the *bord de l'eau* conspiracy of 1818.

November 1. They agreed to use their combined force in case any uprising should succeed in France and threaten the peace or security of her neighbours. England agreed to this only in case a Bonaparte should be placed on the throne.

Having taken their precautions against France, the Allies granted to Richelieu what they had just refused him in October, the admission of France to the Alliance. This was done in the form of a secret protocol (November 15) and a public declaration. The secret agreement provided for war measures in case of a revolution in France, the march of the armies, and the defence of the fortresses. The Tsar even proposed a plan of campaign. After this the conference discussed the affairs of Germany, Spain, and the colonies.

The Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle was a decisive victory for Metternich's policy. The chief result was to proclaim solemnly the maintenance of the Alliance against the revolutionists. "The happiest result," wrote Metternich,* will be *that there is to be no change in the existing order of things*," and it will be "a most brilliant triumph for the Cabinets that have never invoked the spirit of innovation." It was a moral defeat for Alexander, "for the court which has rendered homage to what is called the spirit of the time and which *by its words* has roused the hopes of innovators and sectarians of every description." After the Congress, Metternich wrote: "The Congress has encouraged the friends of order and peace in all nations and everywhere alarmed innovators and factionists."

Alexander's conversion, begun at Aix-la-Chapelle, was completed by the impression of the demonstrations of German students, the elections to the French Chamber in 1819, and especially the murder of his agent Kotzebue (see p. 385). Metternich used these incidents to persuade him of the existence of a "great conspiracy that was spreading all over Germany" and even of a revolutionary organization of the Liberals of all Europe, which was encouraged by the Jacobins (Liberals) who surrounded the King of Prussia, and was directed by the *sects*. He secured the adoption in Germany of measures against the universities and the press. In the case of France it was Alexander himself who proposed intervention. The Decazes ministry,

* The benefit of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to conservative policy is set forth in Metternich's notes and in Gentz's memoirs in a verbose and confident form. ("Metternich Papers," vol. iii.)

abandoned by the Tsar, turned to the English government, which refused to interfere.

Austrian Congresses; the Interventions (1820-23).—The revolutions in Spain and Italy completed Metternich's triumph over Alexander. Within one year four revolutions broke out in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sardinia, brought about by army officers belonging to secret societies, either Free Masons or *Carbonari.* They had the same program, the Spanish Constitution of 1812, copied from the French Constitution of 1791. In France the assassination of the Duc de Berri and a series of military plots, added to the outbreaks in the other countries, seemed to justify Metternich's warnings and predictions. The Tsar, convinced of the dangers of the Revolution, was converted to Metternich's principle of *intervention.* To restore order in the countries disturbed by the Revolution, the governments of the great powers held congresses, all in Austrian territory, at Troppau in Silesia in 1820, Laybach in Carniola in 1821, and Verona in Venetia in 1823.

Alexander himself proposed that the five Allies should interfere to check the Spanish revolution; the English government refused, fearing to offend the Spanish nation. But the revolution of Naples interested Austria directly, as her Italian subjects in Lombardy were conspiring with the Liberals. She prepared troops and announced that the Emperor was going to fulfil his duty as "natural guardian and protector of public tranquillity in Italy." The French government, unwilling to let Austria set herself up as the sovereign power in Italy, suggested collective intervention to the other states, in order to reassure the Italians, who were alarmed by the entry of an Austrian army. The Tsar agreed, and it was decided to hold a congress of the five great powers.

The Congress of Troppau was devoted to Neapolitan affairs. Metternich proposed intervention to restore the absolutist system that Ferdinand, by an agreement with Austria in 1815 (see p. 316), had promised not to change. The Tsar and France wished to begin by negotiating with the King of Naples to remove the revolutionary features of the constitution without suppressing it. England refused to hear of intervention; the powers, in her view, were to guarantee only the territorial balance of power among the states of Europe; they were not to interfere in their domestic policy. Thus the two opposing principles were formulated: *intervention* by Austria, the most absolutist power in Europe at

this time; *non-intervention* by England, the most liberal power. This did not, however, prevent England and Austria from being natural allies against Russia. *Intervention* became henceforth a part of the absolutist program, *non-intervention* of the liberal program. (The latter was condemned by the Syllabus; see p. 701.)

England and France refused to sign a collective declaration. But Metternich persuaded Alexander to it by showing him revolution threatening everywhere—in Portugal, in the Diet of Warsaw, in a riot of the Imperial Guard at Petersburg.* The three eastern powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, signed a declaration of principle. Every state of the European Alliance suffering an internal revolution thereby ceased to be a member of the Alliance and remained excluded "until its government should offer guarantees for legitimate order." The powers agreed to refuse to recognise illegal reforms and to bring into "the bosom of the Alliance" those states in which such changes should be made. They reserved the right to employ first friendly overtures, then, if necessary, measures of constraint. Thus was the *principle of intervention* officially recognised in European public law. The Allies declared themselves at one in the struggle against revolution and ready to maintain by force their work of 1814, not only their territorial arrangements, but the political restoration of the absolutist system. This they were to do, not only against the will of the people, but even if need be against the

* He sent him a doctrinal exposition on the causes of revolution, summing them up "in a single word, *presumption*. . . Religion, morals, legislation, political economy, administration, all seem to have become a common good and accessible to all." . . He denounces "the idea of emancipation of the peoples as absurd in itself." The evil arose from the governments of the eighteenth century who had permitted irreligious writings and "talk of social compacts," then from the Hundred Days and "the utterly wrong course of the French government from 1815 to 1820." "It is the middle classes that have been seized by this moral gangrene. . . The people doubt the movement . . . the interested classes are the capitalists . . . state officials, literary men, lawyers, and the persons in charge of public education. . . Their war-cry, *Constitution* . . means change and trouble." "It is not in the midst of the agitation of passions that we should think of *reform*. Wisdom teaches us at such times to confine our efforts to *preservation*." The same elements of destruction have existed from the beginning of time; there have always been "immoral ambitious men, hypocrites, fanatics, evil spirits, and makers of plans." But what gives them power in our time is "the liberty of the press, a plague unknown to the world until the last half of the eighteenth century."

will of the governments. They constituted themselves a political supreme court for Europe, directing an international police against revolution. The two constitutional monarchies of the West, England and France, kept out of this demonstration, but in a passive attitude, leaving the field clear for the absolutist monarchies of the East.

This triumph for Metternich was announced to the world in the form of a despatch from the Russian government to its ambassador at Naples. "The Neapolitan revolution presents in itself too alarming a character to be ignored by the sovereigns. . . They have recognised this same spirit of trouble and disorder which will shortly lay waste the whole world. . . The sovereigns at once decided to admit the legality of nothing that was established in the Kingdom of Naples by revolution and usurpation."

Accordingly the sovereigns, refusing to negotiate with a revolutionary government, invited the King of Naples to come *in person*, to make terms with them at Laybach, where the congress was now sitting. They also summoned the other princes of Italy.

The Congress of Laybach regulated the domestic arrangements of the Kingdom of Naples; King Ferdinand, who had left Naples swearing to defend the constitution, asked the congress to restore the absolutist system. The great powers decided among themselves to send an Austrian army if the King's subjects did not submit; they then communicated their decision to the envoys of the Italian governments. France made a useless demand to begin with conciliatory measures. Austria, acting in the name of the sovereigns, sent an army into the Kingdom of Naples. The length of the occupation was to be settled by a new congress.

The Congress of Laybach ended in a public declaration from Austria regarding the uniformity of views and principles of the great powers. The French government corrected it in an explanatory note, which Metternich seized upon to represent France to the Tsar as a hotbed of revolution. The sovereigns were about to leave Laybach, where they had been awaiting the result of the Austrian expedition into Naples, when they learned of the revolution of Piedmont (see p. 331). This was immediately followed by the Greek revolt of Ypsilanti in Moldavia (see p. 619). Alexander, without hesitation, gave his judgment against the revolutionists. He offered an army against Piedmont and dis-

owned Ypsilanti, whose name he caused to be struck off the rolls of the Russian army.

The Austrian army which had been sent into the Kingdom of Naples reduced it almost without fighting, in March, 1821. In Piedmont, an Austrian army, joined to the faithful Sardinian regiments, scattered the insurgent regiments at Novara (see p. 332). Ypsilanti's band was crushed by the Turks. Metternich took advantage of Alexander's irritation to excite him against revolution and against France.* He again issued a public declaration regarding "the vast conspiracy," the "impious league" organized "to overthrow existing institutions." He spoke also of "the barrier" that the sovereigns oppose to "this torrent." The Eastern question was then reopened by the Greek insurrections and massacres (see p. 619). The Tsar, traditional protector of Orthodox believers, protested by an ultimatum in June, 1821. "Christianity," he said, "could not remain a passive spectator of the extermination of a Christian people." But in the face of Austrian and English resistance, he finally accepted their mediation, designed to give the Sultan time to crush the Christian insurgents. Metternich had paralyzed Alexander.

The Spanish question was still to be settled. This was the work of the Congress of Verona (October to December, 1822)—a meeting of the three sovereigns of the East, and envoys from the great powers and from the princes of Italy. The King of Spain had written personally to Louis XVIII. asking aid against his subjects. The French government did not wish to interfere, remembering the Spanish national war against Napoleon. The English government declared intervention dangerous, and refused to take part in it. But Alexander wanted war, "war against Spain, by France, with France, without France, or against France." The powers, with the exception of England, agreed to send a despatch to the Spanish government announcing Eu-

* He sent him another memorial in May, 1821: "A vast and dangerous conspiracy has since 1814 gained enough power and means of action to have obtained possession of many posts in public administrations . . . one word suffices to bring it into public favour . . . the word *Constitution*. . . Influence, position, fortune, all that human passions can covet, hang . . . from the tree of liberty, as from a greased pole." . . He recommends an agreement between Russia and Austria which shall impose on their representatives the obligation of mutual support on every occasion. . . "The factionists of every nation . . . have established a centre of information and influence (at Paris). . . We must establish another in opposition" (Vienna).

ropean intervention. The French government still hesitated for some time. But the French Chamber wanted war as a legitimist demonstration. France therefore made war to restore the authority of the King of Spain. It was nothing more than a military promenade, ending with the Siege of Cadiz (see p. 294).

English Policy under Canning.—Until now the alliance of the five powers had been officially maintained. England refused to intervene with her allies, but did not intervene against them. The alliance began to break up over two questions which had been left unsettled in 1815, the question of the Spanish colonies and the Eastern question.

A change in English policy came from a change in the office of foreign minister. Castlereagh having committed suicide in 1822, his successor, Canning, began by protesting at Verona against the Spanish intervention. Abandoning the passive attitude, he interfered actively in opposition to the Allies. His policy was the opposite of Metternich's. Not only did he, like his English predecessors, reject the principle of intervention in domestic questions, saying that the guarantee promised to the sovereigns by the treaties of 1815 was "territorial, not political," and did not bind the powers to maintain the internal system against revolutions; he went further, and claimed the right to *prevent* the intervention of another power in domestic questions.

The insurgent Spanish colonies had organized as independent states. At the Congress of Verona, Chateaubriand, envoy from France, proposed to extend the principle of intervention to colonies, and help the King of Spain to subdue them. Canning replied at first with a Parliamentary speech on the independence of peoples and national honour. He then officially recognised the Spanish republics, January, 1825. In answer to the French expedition to Spain, he interfered in Portugal, sending, late in 1826, a squadron, then an English army corps, against Don Miguel.

This was the first breach in the Metternich system.

Intervention in the East (1823-29).—The Eastern question had been before the world since 1823. Public opinion in Europe was very favourable to the Greek insurgents, but the governments kept out of the movement. The Congress of Verona refused even to receive the Greek envoys, and censured the revolt. Canning took the initiative by recognising the Greeks as belligerents in February, 1823. Alexander, in whom the Greeks had hoped and whose friends urged him to war, decided to take decisive part neither for the revolutionary Greeks nor for the Sultan,

the enemy of Christians. He called a conference at St. Petersburg to restore peace, and proposed a compromise: Greece to be divided into three self-governing principalities. This was unanimously rejected. The conference confined itself to inviting the Sultan, in April, 1825, to accept the mediation of the powers, but without threatening to impose peace on him.

Alexander was about to make a final decision, when he died, December, 1825. His death hastened the sudden change in Russian policy. Nicholas, his successor, refused to leave England the monopoly in protecting the Greeks; he had before his accession expressed sympathy for the Greek insurgents. Canning, taking advantage of these tendencies, sent Wellington to make terms with Nicholas; they agreed in April, 1826, that England should offer her mediation to the Sultan and that Russia should support her. This was an abandonment of Metternich's policy.

Russia had begun negotiations with the Turkish government on other questions, and was awaiting their termination to bring up the Grecian question. It was only at the end of a year, April, 1827, that the Grand Vizier received official communication of the Anglo-Russian protocol of 1826. He refused to consider it. But England and Russia held to their decision. France had already adhered to the protocol; the other powers, in July, 1827, declared their readiness to impose Grecian autonomy by force, and sent a fleet into Greece. They demanded from the Sultan an armistice for the Greeks, threatening in case of a refusal to take active measures (August). Thus the situation was the reverse of that of 1820: England and France were intervening, but in support of a revolution, while Austria and Prussia refused to intervene; Russia in 1820 intervened against the subjects, in 1827 against the sovereign.

The unexpected death of Canning in August changed the policy of the English ministry; his successors wished to avoid all complications. But the three powers found themselves already entangled. Their fleet, commanded by the English admiral, had come to the western coast of Morea to impose a truce on the two parties. Ibrahim at first accepted; then, on an order from the Sultan, began to devastate Messenia. The European fleet interfered, calling on the Egyptian fleet to depart. As in Ibrahim's absence his men refused to move, the allied fleet took a position in the harbor of Navarino by the side of the Egyptian ships. The Christian sailors were so excited against the Mussulmans

that a shot from an Egyptian vessel was enough to produce the battle of Navarino and the destruction of the Egyptian fleet (October 20). After this the Europeans withdrew. The Sultan demanded a disavowal and an indemnity, which were refused. Then, in December, he broke off relations with the three powers. The intervention finally led to a rupture with the Ottoman Empire.

Even the rupture did not, however, produce a general war. England simply sent a fleet in August, 1828, which decided Mehemet-Ali to recall Ibrahim. France sent an expedition into Morea in the same year. Russia alone entered upon war (February, 1828).

The war included two campaigns. That of 1828 was simply a march of Russians across Roumania, followed by the siege of fortresses; the Russian army, ill supplied and badly led, was stopped before reaching the Balkans, by the intrenched camp of Shumla.

The campaign of 1829 was decided by a single battle in Bulgaria. The Ottoman army, disorganized since the destruction of the janissaries, fell to pieces. Diebitsch profited by this to cross the Balkans and come down to Adrianople. He had with him only about 20,000 men, some of whom were disabled, and was too weak to take Constantinople. But the Sultan, intimidated by Diebitsch's decided attitude, imagined himself at the mercy of the Russians and accepted all their terms: war indemnity, destruction of the Turkish fortresses in Roumania, free passage of the straits to ships of all nations, and creation of the Kingdom of Greece (September, 1829). The peace of Adrianople (see p. 620) established Russia's predominance in the east.

Breaking up of the European Alliance (1830).—The Metternich system was shaken by Canning's policy and the Tsar's war in Turkey. But hitherto the powers had conflicted with Austria only on questions and in countries outside of the settlements of 1815. The treaties of 1815 were still intact.

The revolution of 1830 in France was the first breach in the work of the Congress of Vienna. It took away the legitimate government from the Bourbons, to whom the Allies had guaranteed it, and gave it to a revolutionary government under Louis Philippe, "King of the barricades." The new government was established in the name of the sovereignty of the people, the doctrine of the Revolution, with the tricolour flag, the emblem of the Revolution.

Then came the Belgian revolution, which cut in two the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the work of the Allies. Finally in England the Tories, allied with the absolutist monarchies against France, gave place in November, 1830, to the Whigs, allied with the European liberals. The Alliance of 1815 was definitively broken up; the Metternich system was abandoned.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

RIVALRY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ENGLAND, 1830-54.

Conditions of Foreign Policy after 1830.—The Revolution of 1830 in France and the Whigs' accession to power in England transformed the political situation of Europe. The two great states of the West became parliamentary countries controlled by liberal parties; they broke the alliance with the three states that were still faithful to the principles of the Restoration. Europe was cut into two parts: the East, still absolutist, and the West, now become liberal.

In the absolutist monarchies of the East, the direction remained concentrated in the person of the sovereign or his ministers. The masters of policy were: in Austria, Metternich, governing in the name of the Emperor (Francis, then Ferdinand from 1835 to 1848); after the revolution of '48, Prince Schwarzenberg;—in Russia, Tsar Nicholas, autocrat and soldier, who himself directed diplomacy;—in Prussia, King Frederick William III., timid and peace-loving, and after 1840 Frederick William IV., full of fancies, but, except for one moment from 1849 to 1850, without a personal policy. Metternich, growing old and discouraged, with no personal influence over Nicholas, without means of action, for he knew the Austrian army to be disorganized, ceased to control diplomacy. The influence passed into the hands of the Tsar, the master of a victorious army; Nicholas was from 1830 to 1854 the representative of absolutism, the adversary of revolution and of France.

In the parliamentary monarchies of the West the ministers no longer decided foreign policy alone: they had to reckon with the Chambers and the opinion of the people. In France Louis Philippe, desirous of consolidating his throne and providing for his children, had personally a peaceful policy; but, as a parliamentary King, he had to appear to leave the government to his ministers. He evaded the difficulty by taking ministers from those who advocated his policy (Casimir-Perier, Broglie, and Guizot), or without policy (Molé and Soult), or when he was

obliged to submit to ministers of the Left (Laffitte and Thiers), by hindering their influence. In fact, France's policy was that of Louis Philippe, a policy of peace and inactivity, interspersed with belligerent demonstrations to satisfy national self-respect.

In England the sovereigns, William and later Victoria, left to the ministry even the direction of foreign affairs; English policy therefore depended on the ministerial party and varied with the changes of majority. The Conservative party maintained its policy of peace and abstention, but it was in power only for short intervals (1834-35, 1841-46, 1852). The Liberal or Whig party thus determined England's attitude, and this party left the direction of foreign policy almost entirely to Lord Palmerston, the minister of foreign affairs. Palmerston posed as the champion at once of English national honour and the liberal system; his policy was to intimidate the great powers by display of troops, threats of wars, and secret negotiation with liberal malcontents of every country to excite them against their governments. For more than thirty years (he died in 1865) he succeeded in hiding England's military weakness, and made her the rival of Russia as a controlling power. Europe from 1830 to 1854 was dominated by the rivalry between Nicholas and Palmerston, symbols of the absolutist East and the liberal West.

Under these official heads of Europe an accessory rôle in European diplomacy was played by a new sovereign family, that of Saxe-Coburg. Leopold, having become King of the Belgians and then son-in-law of the King of France, arranged a marriage for one of his nephews, Ferdinand, with the Queen of Portugal in 1836, and for another, Albert, with the Queen of England in 1840; the relations of the Coburg family with the reigning houses permitted them at times to act as mediators between the courts of the great states.

European policy became more complicated and more unstable than at the time of the Restoration. This was a period of active and intricate plots, revolutions, and demonstrations, which filled the newspapers, aroused violent feeling, and in the end accomplished but little.

Foreign policy was expressed by certain official formulæ. *Maintenance of treaties* was the preservation of the territorial arrangements of 1815. *Intervention* signified for the great powers the right to interfere in the internal affairs of secondary states in order to maintain the system established in 1815. When they interfered in the opposite direction, it produced a struggle for

influence, unless it resulted in a conference to restore the *European concert.* The *European balance of power,* an old formula of the old *régime,* was the endeavour to keep any of the five great powers from extending its dominion, especially in the Ottoman Empire, which was outside of the treaties of 1815.

Every internal complication in each country was for the great powers a temptation to interfere and extend their influence and an occasion for debating the question whether it was necessary to interfere for the support of the treaties or of the balance of power.

Recognition of the July Monarchy (1830).—The revolution of 1830 was a violation of the treaties of 1815; by driving from France the Bourbons, whose dynasty the powers had guaranteed, it opened up the *casus belli* foreseen by the convention of 1818 (see p. 751), it therefore presented the question of intervention in France against the revolution.

But the Allies did not feel strong enough to interfere; Louis Philippe represented to them that he had accepted the throne only to stop the revolution, that his presence alone guaranteed France against a republic, and assured the maintenance of the treaties of 1815. England, where the Tory ministry was held in check by a strong Whig minority, refused to interfere; she ordered her ambassador to remain in Paris, then recognised the government of Louis Philippe.* Metternich did not even ask the execution of the convention of 1818; no power had its army ready to march. The Tsar alone wished to crush the Revolution; he ordered his Russian subjects to leave France, forbade the tricolour flag in Russian ports, and sent agents to the Austrian and Prussian courts, urging them to war. But the other governments having recognised the usurper, he did the same. He contented himself with showing his contempt by refusing to call him "my brother," as the other sovereigns did.

The revolutionary monarchy of France, in spite of the treaties of 1815, joined the European concert. But "the King of the barricades" remained an intruder to the other sovereigns; Louis Philippe felt himself always regarded in Europe as an upstart, and the desire to put an end to this partial "boycott" was one of the constant features of his policy.

Settlement of Belgium (1830-32).—The Belgian revolution

* There is, so far as I know, no reason for supposing that the Wellington ministry had any thought of interfering in the domestic affairs of France. —S. M. M.

was a second breach in the treaties of 1815. King William asked the great powers to restore him in possession of the territories guaranteed him in 1814. England called a conference at London to try and save the kingdom by persuading the Belgians to be content with a separate administration. The King of Prussia, William's brother-in-law, assembled an army on the Dutch frontier. The Tsar offered 60,000 men, and his envoy Diebitsch remained two months in Berlin to urge the King to war.

But the French government, urged by the party of action (see p. 134), took the part of the Belgians. The idea was to satisfy national self-respect by destroying even in a secondary matter, the treaties of 1815, setting up the principle of non-intervention and thereby securing the demolition of the Belgian fortresses erected against France, or even the cession of a bit of territory. France stopped Prussia by declaring that, if a Prussian army should enter from the east, a French army should enter from the west. The Tsar, on the point of interfering, was hindered by the Polish revolution (see p. 587).

When the London Conference opened, the Tory ministry had been replaced by a Whig ministry. Palmerston had the direction of foreign affairs and adopted the policy of an understanding between the two liberal powers, France and England. He agreed with Talleyrand, France's representative, to set up the principle of the absolute separation of Belgium. The envoys from the Eastern powers, having no precise instructions, yielded. The Conference imposed a truce on the two parties, then recognised the independence of Belgium, in December, 1830.

The Conference had to determine the territory of the new kingdom, the division of the debt between the two states, and the choice of the Belgian king. Talleyrand demanded for France an annexation of territory, Luxemburg or at least Philippeville and Marienburg, in order to satisfy French national pride; Palmerston, out of English national pride, refused.* It was agreed to give the throne to no prince of any of the five great powers.

The conference adopted three arrangements in succession:

1. January 20, 1831, the *bases of the separation:* the whole of Luxemburg to be given over to the King of Holland, about half of the total debt to Belgium. The King of Holland agreed; the Belgian Congress refused and elected as King a son of Louis

*Palmerston wrote: The French government constantly says to us: 'This or that must be done to satisfy public opinion in France,' but it should consider that public opinion exists in England as well as in France."

Philippe. Palmerston threatened France with war if he should accept; Louis Philippe, in spite of his ministry of actionists, decided on a refusal. The kingdom was then offered to Leopold of Coburg, who exacted, before accepting, a mitigation of the conditions of January 20.

2. June 26, 1831, *the 18 articles:* the *status quo* in Luxemburg, the debt contracted before 1816 to be assigned to Holland. Belgium accepted; and now it was Holland that refused and sent an army into Belgium. Leopold asked help from France; the French army entered to carry out the decisions of the conference. Palmerston, disturbed at seeing the French in Belgium, demanded evacuation and arranged a truce; but the French army remained until the Conference should have arranged for the demolition of the fortresses erected against France.

3. October 15, 1831, *the 24 articles:* restitution to Holland of a portion of Luxemburg and Limburg; Belgium made no objection, but the King of Holland persisted in his refusal. The Conference concluded the definite treaty. The great powers recognised the Kingdom of Belgium as a neutral state in 1832. The fortress of Antwerp had now to be taken from the Dutch. The two Western states agreed to employ force, against the wish of the other powers.

The Polish Question (1830-32).—The Polish insurgents against the Tsar asked help from the Western powers. The liberal parties supported them out of hatred for Nicholas; the opinion of all educated Europe showed itself strongly in their favour. The Laffitte ministry attempted to urge the Sultan to war. The Casimir-Perier ministry proposed to England a joint mediation. But neither France nor England had any means of action against a Russian army in Poland, and Palmerston refused to take part in a proceeding without practical effect. Poland therefore received only demonstrations of sympathy; the French Chamber voted in the address to the King a phrase expressing the conviction "that the Polish race would not perish."

The Eastern powers divided. Austria declared herself neutral, and was rather favourable to the Poles, although insurgents; Prussia, which hated Poland, aided the Russian army with supplies.

The Polish war, reduced to a struggle between the Polish and Russian armies, ended in the crushing of the Polish nation. Palmerston, by virtue of the treaties of 1815, claimed the maintenance of the privileges assured to the Poles. Russia replied that

the Treaty of Vienna imposed on her no conditions of internal government; the Constitution of 1815, having been only a spontaneous act of the Tsar, was annulled by the fact of the rebellion.

In France the taking of Warsaw was a national grief; in Paris, business was suspended, the theatres closed, and the declaration from the minister of foreign affairs, "order reigns in Warsaw," was regarded as an insult (1832).

Intervention of Austria and France in Italy (1831-32).—In Italy the revolution in the central states, the States of the Church, Modena, and Parma, had resulted in the creation of provisional governments. The dispossessed sovereigns asked aid from Austria. In France the "party of action" urged the support of the liberal insurgents against Austria's *protégés*. The Laffitte ministry declared that the Austrians would be allowed to occupy Parma, but not the States of the Church. The Austrian army from Lombardy occupied all the insurgent countries in March, 1831. The Casimir-Perier ministry offered no resistance, and contented itself, after the submission of the Italians, with demanding the retreat of the Austrian army. To satisfy French national pride, it declared its intention to occupy a portion of the States of the Church if the Austrians did not evacuate before the opening of the Chambers.

The Austrian army, having accomplished its work, withdrew from the States of the Church. But when, in January, 1832, it returned at the Pope's call, the French government found itself obliged to carry out its threat. It sent three ships with 1200 men to occupy the citadel of Ancona. Austria took advantage of this to leave her troops in the States of the Church until 1838.

Intervention in Spain and Portugal (1833-36).—In Spain and Portugal intervention began with a question of succession disputed between a minor queen supported by the Liberals, Isabella in Spain, Maria in Portugal, and a pretender supported by the absolutists, Carlos in Spain, Miguel in Portugal. The two parliamentary states of the West recognised the two queens, while the three absolutist monarchies of the East, while not officially recognising the two absolutist pretenders, yet gave them their support.

The liberal ministry in Spain asked aid from England. Palmerston advised the governments of the two queens to make an alliance with each other and with England; Talleyrand secured the entrance of France into the combination, and in April, 1834, the Quadruple Alliance was concluded. The powers undertook

to expel both pretenders from Portugal, England with her fleet, Spain with her army; the participation of France would be regulated later, if there was need of it. The treaty stipulated no intervention in Spain; Palmerston had not wished to furnish France this opportunity to gain a foothold in the peninsula.

Palmerston presented the Quadruple Alliance as a league of the four constitutional monarchies of the West which counterbalanced the league of the three absolutist monarchies of the East. It was more a demonstration than an effective act. It had almost no result except in Portugal.

The Eastern Question (1832-33).—The Tsar, since the treaty of 1829, had kept the Ottoman Empire under his influence. France supported Mehemet-Ali, the Egyptian pasha: in popular opinion he was regarded in France as the future regenerator of the Ottoman Empire and the faithful ally of the French.

Palmerston declared the integrity of the Ottoman Empire indispensable to English interests; it was to him a dogma which was not to be discussed. He distrusted Mehemet-Ali, attributing to him a project for creating an Arabian kingdom. Ibrahim's expedition into Syria, followed by the march of the Egyptian army into Asia Minor, made a vivid impression on public opinion in 1832. The Sultan, having failed to secure aid from the maritime states, appealed to Russia, which sent troops in April, 1833.

France and England, by frightening the Sultan, succeeded in making him accept Mehemet-Ali's conditions. Russia made no objection, but used the Sultan's irritation to secure the treaty of alliance of Unkiar-Skelessi in July, 1833 (see p. 622).

England and France were informed of this, but could not arrange to co-operate against Russia.

The Refugees and the Alliance of the Absolutist Monarchies (1833).—The three Eastern powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, discontented with the intervention of the Western states in Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, disturbed by the agitations of German, Polish, and Italian revolutionists, who had taken refuge in Switzerland and France, arranged together for a demonstration against revolution. This was the Münchengraetz interview of September, 1833, between the Emperor of Austria, the Tsar, and the Crown Prince of Prussia. A manifesto was drawn up, but the King of Prussia refused to sign it for fear of being entangled in a war, and they had to be content with the secret treaty of Berlin, October 15, 1833. The three sovereigns, "in consideration

of the dangers with which the order of things established in Europe by public law and treaties, especially those of 1815, continued to be threatened," declared themselves "unanimously resolved to consolidate the system of preservation which constitutes the immutable basis of their policy." Consequently they "recognised that every independent sovereign has the right to call to his aid, in the domestic troubles as in the external dangers of his country, such other independent sovereign as seems to him most fitted to assist him, and that the latter has the right to refuse such aid according to his interests or convenience. In case this aid should be granted, no power not invoked . . . by the threatened state has the right to interfere, either to prevent the assistance or to act in a contrary direction. In case the material assistance of one of the three courts should be called for and any power should wish to oppose it by armed force, the three courts should consider as directed against each of them any act of hostility undertaken with this end." This was an engagement to maintain the doctrine of *intervention* * formulated in 1820—an Eastern league opposed to that of the West.

After the death of Emperor Francis, the agreement between the three courts was renewed by two interviews in 1835 at Kalisch in Poland and at Teplitz. It was agreed to publish no manifesto. "What the three courts wish is generally known," wrote Metternich; "to repeat it is useless, and could have no other result than to weaken their strong position."

Rupture of the Alliance between France and England (1836-40).—The understanding established between France and England in 1830 broke up of itself, owing to the difference in interest of the governments.

1. Both were parliamentary governments of property holders, obliged to consider the passions of the middle class. Now, in both countries the recollection of the long wars between England and France was still vivid. The national heroes were, in England Wellington, the conqueror of Waterloo, in France Napoleon, the mortal enemy of England. In this time, when the army was composed entirely of poor men, the liberal middle class

* Metternich, as early as 1833, spoke contemptuously of the July Monarchy. "This throne has created nothing . . . all it can do is to maintain itself. Its only product is that of the so-called principle of non-intervention, . . . the only invention that has been made by the capital of propaganda, . . . a negative means of keeping other states in the nullity of action that its own position necessitates."

in France spoke freely of war and conquest, to destroy the odious treaties of 1815 and restore the "national boundaries," the Rhine and the Alps. The English Parliament loved to boast of England's glory, her domination on the seas and in Europe. English patriotism consisted in regarding *insular* affairs only as worthy of consideration and employing the word *continental* as a term of contempt. The difficulty increased when the great political questions which had absorbed the attention of all parties had been almost settled—in England after the reforms, in France after the strengthening of the monarchy. Domestic policy, which had become stagnant, ceased to arouse the public and fill the newspapers. Interest was centred on foreign affairs. The opposition, especially in France, finding at home no material with which to excite the middle class against the government, busied itself with foreign policy, in which it sought to exalt national pride. Between these two jealous and conceited nations there was continual rivalry and incessant coolness. The governments, for fear of dangerous unpopularity, had to be always ready to sustain "national honour," which practically meant to refuse all that the rival nation asked for. These sentiments were enough to make harmony difficult.

2. Louis Philippe wished to be accepted by the legitimate sovereigns and, by means of alliances with the old dynasties, introduce his family into monarchical society. He laboured personally to regain favour with the Eastern monarchs, who led the courts of Europe, and to free himself from the compromising union with the liberal ministries of England.

The coolness became apparent as early as 1836. In the countries where England and France had interfered together, Greece, Spain, and Portugal, each supported a party subject to its own influence and strove to excite it against the party of the other.

The discord was shown especially in Spain. Louis Philippe supported his kinswoman Christina and the moderate party. England sided with the *progressists.*

The Spanish government, threatened by the Carlists, asked help from the Quadruple Alliance in 1836. Louis Philippe promised it; but, as the progressists had gained control of the government by a revolution, he broke with Thiers and remained neutral between Isabella and Don Carlos.

Louis Philippe made overtures to the Eastern powers. He wished to marry his eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, and sent him to visit the courts of Prussia and Austria. In Vienna the

Duke met with a cold reception; the Austrian nobility, being legitimist, ignored his presence. He asked for the hand of a daughter of the Archduke, but was refused. Louis Philippe was hurt, and resigned himself to the acceptance of a princess proposed by the King of Prussia, Helen of Mecklenburg, who became Duchess of Orleans.

The Eastern Question and the Straits Convention (1839-41).— The official rupture between France and England came on the Eastern question. All the great powers announced the intention of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. France alone had not defined her policy; she hesitated between the Sultan, her traditional ally, and Mehemet-Ali, her *protégé*.

The question was little by little complicated by the personal intrigues of English representatives. Sultan Mahmoud, urged by Ponsonby, the English ambassador, wished to avenge the defeat of 1832, and in 1839 ordered his army to invade Syria; the Egyptian forces were at the frontiers.

England and France, once more working together, wanted to impose a truce on the two parties. But when the French envoy arrived at Constantinople to put a stop to hostilities, Ponsonby refused to assist, because he had received no instructions. The Turkish government concluded from this that England wanted war, and gave the order to march. The Ottoman army was put to rout (June, 1839); then the Ottoman admiral, going over to the winning party, led the fleet to join that of Mehemet-Ali (July). Mahmoud had just died; Khosrew, in the name of the new Sultan, Abdul-Medjid, offered to make peace. Mehemet refused to negotiate with him.

The Tsar had intervened by right of the treaty of 1833. To prevent his working alone, the other powers announced to the Sultan that they would take the question in hand, and engaged him to await the result of their course before making terms (July 24). But France and England disagreed on the terms to be imposed on Mehemet-Ali. Palmerston wanted to demand the restitution of the Turkish fleet, and proposed to demand it by an ultimatum; the French government refused to agree to this.

Palmerston, changing his tactics, entered into negotiation with the Eastern powers, first with Austria, offering to call upon Mehemet to return the fleet, and, if he refused, to blockade the coasts of Egypt and Syria; he added that if necessary England would act "with less than four powers." The Tsar, seizing the chance to isolate France, sent an offer of co-operation to England; he

renounced his separate treaty of 1833 with the Sultan, and declared himself ready to work in harmony with all his allies, but by preference without France (September).

Palmerston proposed the simultaneous entry of the three fleets, English, French, and Russian; the French government (Soult) agreed. But when the Chamber met, in January, 1840, the Soult ministry fell, and public opinion in France declared itself firmly opposed to any ultimatum to Mehemet-Ali.

Palmerston finally negotiated independently of France. The four other powers concluded with the Sultan the Treaty of London, July 15, 1840, which determined the ultimatum to be imposed on Mehemet-Ali: the Sultan offered him only hereditary Egypt and a part of Syria during his lifetime, and this on condition that he should accept within ten days; at the end of that time he would be driven back into Syria, and ten days later the Sultan would no longer be bound to anything. The powers agreed to fulfil these conditions by force.

As in 1815, France found herself alone against the four *allies;* their decision took the aspect of an ultimatum addressed to France over the head of Mehemet-Ali; the Eastern question became a question of national honour. The Chambers became wildly excited; people began to talk of renewing the struggle against Europe, of breaking down the treaties of 1815, even of regaining the Rhine frontier. This aroused a counter movement in Germany (see p. 389). The Thiers ministry, which rested only on national feeling,* began to prepare armament, and Austria and Prussia concluded arrangements in the event of a war (November). But neither Louis Philippe nor the Chamber wanted war. Mehemet-Ali had rejected the ultimatum. France recalled her fleet to Toulon and left the powers a free field against him.

A combined English, Austrian, and Turkish fleet bombarded the Syrian ports; it destroyed in three hours St. Jean d'Acre, which was thought to be impregnable, and then went to blockade Alexandria. Mehemet, abandoned by France, yielded, in November, 1840. The allies then consented to annul the treaty of

* Before the break with England the French government had asked of Palmerston—who willingly granted it—permission to bring back to France the body of Napoleon I., which had been buried at St. Helena. The Prince of Joinville was sent to bring it; on his return, the Thiers ministry had fallen, and the transfer of Napoleon's ashes to the Invalides was simply an official ceremony.

London, and to replace it with a general treaty of all the powers with the Sultan,—the Straits Convention of July, 1841,—which declared the straits closed to all war vessels. But France's pride had received a wound for which the middle classes could not forgive England.

The "State of Good Feeling" (1841-45).—The succession of a Right Centre ministry in France (Guizot) and a Conservative ministry in England to the control of foreign affairs, both with a policy of peace and conciliation, led to a desire for a restoration of good feeling between the two governments. They tried to restore harmony between the two states. The sovereigns exchanged visits, Victoria in France at the Château d'Eu in 1843 and 1845, Louis Philippe in England in 1844; the ministries chatted together amicably, and all official utterances spoke of the friendly feeling between the two countries.

But the understanding was between the governments alone, and they had to contend with public opinion to avoid conflicts between the two nations. In France, the public mind was aroused against the *droit de visite*, or right of searching vessels engaged in the slave trade, and still more against the Pritchard indemnity (see p. 147). In England, the public protested against the tariff union between France, Belgium, and Switzerland, and the government declared that England regarded it as an attempt against the independence of Belgium: she could not permit French soldiers to work in Antwerp under the disguise of customs officials (1842). Public opinion was also aroused by the French war against Morocco.

It was then that Tsar Nicholas came to England (1844) to propose an arrangement with the Tory government for settling together the fate of the Ottoman Empire, whose end he believed to be near at hand. He disclaimed any desire to take any part of its territory, but could not allow any other power to seize it. The English ministers refused to discuss the question.

The Spanish Marriages (1846).—Queen Isabella of Spain and her younger sister Louisa were now of marriageable age; their mother wished to give their hands to French princes. Louis Philippe took this opportunity to provide for his son, the Duke of Montpensier. The two governments of France and England came to an agreement as to these marriages. They settled the principle in 1845 that Queen Isabella should marry a Bourbon, and that after she should have issue the Infanta Louisa might be married to the Duke of Montpensier. One of two cousins was to

marry the Queen: France proposed Francis of Assisi, England his brother Henry. Christina despised Francis, who was weak in both body and mind, and detested Henry, who had linked his name with the progressists. She would have preferred a European prince. The two governments arranged to urge her to a decision.

But Bresson and Bulwer, who represented France and England in Spain, were personal rivals and enemies, and laboured against each other. Bresson urged the Queen to marry both her daughters at once; Bulwer sought to prevent the Infanta's marriage, and to obtain Isabella's hand for a Prince of Coburg. Christina sent a message to the father of the Coburg prince, proposing the marriage (May, 1846). Guizot gave notice that if the candidature of the Bourbons were rejected, France would assert her right to act for Montpensier; Aberdeen censured Bulwer, and notified Guizot of the intrigue.

But the Tory ministry, to which Aberdeen belonged, fell in June, 1846. Palmerston took charge of English foreign policy and altered the position of the question; he declared England's willingness to allow a choice between three candidates—Isabella's two cousins and Coburg; but he added that the Spanish government was arbitrary and that its ministers must soon return to the constitution (July 19). Louis Philippe regarded the agreement of 1845 as broken. Bresson had already, without instructions, endeavoured to accomplish the simultaneous marriage of Isabella with Francis and the Infanta with Montpensier; instead of disowning him, France continued the negotiations. Christina, who was bitterly opposed to English influence, induced Isabella to accept Francis. The two marriages were announced and immediately celebrated. The English government represented the affair as a breach of faith, and declared the good understanding between England and France at an end.

The Cracow Affair (1846).—In 1815 the Allies had made the Polish province of Cracow an aristocratic republic governed by a Senate under Austrian supervision. The destruction of the Kingdom of Poland made Cracow the centre of the Polish nationalist movement; in 1831 a "Society of the Polish People" was founded there, branches of which were established in the Polish countries.

The revolutionary patriots decided to incite revolt in both Prussian and Austrian Poland at once. But the Prussian police arrested the leaders in the plot, and the insurrection was confined

to Galicia. The Cracovian Senate declared itself unable to answer for order, so Austria sent troops to its support. The patriots revolted, drove out the Austrians, and, in February, 1846, formed a provisional government which published a manifesto.

The Austrian army returned quickly with crushing force, and the three monarchies of the East made arrangements to suppress the Republic of Cracow. Metternich announced in November that it was annexed to Austria, explaining that as Cracow had put an end to her political life with her own hands, she had forfeited herself to the power to which she had belonged. England and France, having just fallen out on the Spanish marriages, merely protested in the name of the treaties of 1815.

The Portuguese and Italian Affairs (1847).—After the Spanish marriages Louis Philippe completed his evolution toward the autocratic monarchies of the East. The English government was isolated and began to work alone, on opposite lines from those followed by the other powers.

In Portugal, England interfered to end a civil war. The English Parliament passed a vote of censure against Palmerston for having violated the principle of non-intervention.

In Italy Palmerston intervened to encourage the liberal and nationalist movement and persuaded the princes to make reforms (see p. 338). Metternich, disturbed by a movement so palpably hostile to Austria, sent a note to the four great powers. He repeated his famous saying "Italy is a geographical expression," and asked if they desired to maintain the treaties of 1815, whereby Italy was divided into independent sovereign states. Palmerston replied that the sovereignty of the Italian princes guaranteed them the right to make reforms without outside hindrance; that the reforms were necessary to calm discontent. He urged Austria to use her influence to secure reforms in Naples. The Italian governments had the impression that only a pretext was wanting for Austria to make armed intervention; in October, 1847, Palmerston, informed of this impression, sent as special envoy Lord Minto, to assure the King of Sardinia of England's friendship; he brought about a treaty of customs union between the Pope, Tuscany, and Sardinia, and stopped the civil war in Sardinia by imposing a truce upon the King. The English government posed as protector of the Italians against absolutist Austria.

The Swiss Affair (1847-48).—The treaties of 1815 guaranteed the Constitution of Switzerland. The Radical party, in propos-

ing a revision, menaced the work of the Allies (see p. 268); it disturbed the monarchical governments by its democratic domestic policy. The King of Prussia wished to prevent the transformation of Switzerland into a federal republic, which would be irreconcilable with his rights as the Prince of Neufchâtel.

In 1845 Austria, Prussia, and France had agreed on the necessity of preventing revolution and supporting the *Sonderbund;* but they had been unable to agree on the means. Metternich proposed an armed intervention; Guizot a peaceful pressure, for fear "of wounding, in all the Swiss, conservative or radical, the feeling of national independence." Guizot wished to wait for war before interfering, and he desired joint action by all the powers guaranteeing the treaties, including England. He kept the French envoy from taking any hand in the contest. When the Diet prepared to vote the dissolution of the *Sonderbund,* Metternich proposed to send identical notes before the vote, in order to intimidate the deputies. Guizot refused this, and contented himself with making some suggestions regarding the nature of the Swiss union and the treaties of 1815. Palmerston took advantage of this to play off the four powers against each other. He did not refuse to intervene, but he delayed negotiations and secretly advised the Swiss Diet to work quickly. While the powers were drafting an identical note to impose peace, the Swiss government determined upon war, November 4. Palmerston again gained time by proposing a counter project, which the others refused; he, in his turn, refused that of Guizot, and the English agent in Switzerland sent word to General Dufour to finish the war as soon as possible. When the identical note arrived the war was over.

The canton of Neufchâtel, which had remained neutral, was condemned by the Diet to pay a fine; then it made its revolt, drove out the Prussian governor, and constituted itself as a republic, in 1848. The King of Prussia protested vigorously, asked the powers to intervene, and finally consented to leave the decision to a conference. The Revolution of 1848 interrupted the affair.

Revolutions of 1848.—Revolutions had begun in Switzerland as early as 1847, in Sicily in January, 1848. The French revolution was not the first, but by its example it incited a general movement of democratic and nationalist insurrections. The governments, as yet inexperienced in the art of repression, seized with a mystical fear of *revolution,* a mysterious and incalculable force,

lost heart and hardly resisted. Except in the extreme West (England, Spain, and Portugal), Sweden, Norway, and Russia, the movement was produced all over Europe. In Belgium, Holland, and Denmark it took the peaceful form of an electoral or constitutional reform. It was an internal revolution in France (February), in Austria and Prussia (March), in Germany, and in central Italy. It took the form of a nationalist movement, resulting in war, in northern Italy, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hungary.

The revolution upset all European politics by transforming the domestic condition of the three central powers. It suddenly withdrew France from the understanding with the autocratic monarchies and paralyzed Austria and Prussia. England and Russia alone retained their liberty of action, and used it to take the rôle of arbiters, but in directions opposed to each other.

At one time it was thought that the French Republic was to revive the tradition of the war of Republican propagandism. In Paris there was a demonstration in favour of intervention in Italy and Poland. The provisional government had determined on peace, and Lamartine announced it to Europe by an official declaration, March 5. But as the belligerent demonstrations continued (the insurrection of May 15 was made to demand intervention in Poland), the revolutionists of Europe continued to hope for aid from the French revolutionists, who might be brought into power by a new revolution.

Palmerston, content with the fall of Guizot, recognised the Republic; the other powers had no time to arrange to oppose him. Austria was occupied with a revolution in Vienna and in her Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom (March). For the first time, Sardinia, urged by the Italian nationalist movement, dared to attack Austria. After the revolt of Milan, the Sardinian army entered Lombardy without a declaration of war (April). The Austrian government, out of which Metternich had been driven, appealed to Palmerston to restrain his ally, Sardinia. Palmerston thus became arbiter between Austria and the Italian states.

When Austria had recovered her balance, Radetzky's army, which had remained intact in the barracks and was now re-enforced by 20,000 men, took the offensive, reoccupied Venetia, except Venice, in June, and then attacked the Sardinian army. A single battle, Custozza, July 25, settled the war; the Sardinian army fell back and left the whole of Lombardy to the Austrians.

Sardinia asked assistance from France and England, who agreed to offer their meditation; a truce was arranged, and a conference to be held at Brussels; but victorious Austria refused any cession of territory, and the negotiations hung in suspense. England also intervened to impose a truce on the King of Naples in his war with his subjects in Sicily (September, 1848).

In Germany the revolution brought about a national parliament which, in June, 1848, created an imperial government (see p. 392). But the new government was not recognised by England, which opposed the commercial unity of Germany, nor by France, which did not want commercial unity without a democratic constitution, nor by the Tsar, who abhorred all forms of revolution.

In the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein the revolution, at first purely local, established a German government and led to a national war between the Danes and the people of the duchies—the latter being supported by German volunteers, and later by Prussian troops. The Northern powers were inclined to support the Danes, England in order to prevent the creation of a German navy, the Tsar from hatred of revolution and because the King of Denmark was his kinsman. England, Russia, and Sweden organized the London Conference, which imposed a truce and a provisional solution (see p. 570).

The Restorations (1849).—Austria, the power most shaken by the revolution of '48, set the example of military reaction. Prince Schwarzenberg took charge of Austrian affairs and laboured to destroy the work of the revolutionists.

The restoration was begun by Austria in October, 1848; the King of Prussia followed the example in Prussia in December. The progress of reaction was interrupted by the Hungarian revolution and by the attempt to constitute a German Empire under the King of Prussia.

In Italy the republicans took advantage of this to establish a republic in central Italy, in February, 1849; Sardinia to renew hostilities. The Austrian army, however, attacked the Sardinian army, and the single combat of Novara (March, 1849) was sufficient to scatter it and force Sardinia to ask for peace. Austria demanded the suppression of the Italian republics; she herself undertook the management of Tuscany. For Rome the intervention was much slower; the Catholic states disputed as to who should undertake it. France took the task upon herself, in order to check Austria (see p. 345). But the majority in the French

Assembly wanted the restoration of the Pope, while the President desired to restore Rome only when reformed in lay matters and with the consent of the inhabitants. This discord showed itself in contradictory military operations. The French expedition announced on landing that it had come to prevent Austrian intervention and fraternized with the soldiers of the Roman Republic. It found Rome barred against it, however, and, after attempting a surprise, was driven back. Then came to the Pope's aid armies from Naples, Spain, and Austria; the Austrians occupied Romagna. The French agent, de Lesseps, arranged a compromise with the Romans on May 31, but the French government rejected it. The French army, with re-enforcements, finally besieged Rome and forced it to capitulate. The restoration was complete; President Louis Napoleon signified his dissatisfaction in a public letter.

In Germany the conflict between the democrats and the governments turned into insurrection. The King of Prussia accomplished the restoration by means of his armies in Baden and in Saxony; the Frankfort Parliament dispersed. The question of the duchies was revived at the expiration of the truce, but the King of Prussia had enough of this war, and undertook personal charge of the negotiations; the conference, transferred to Berlin, could not arrange a definite settlement and confined itself to a truce (see p. 570).

In Hungary, where the revolution had set up a republic, the restoration was accomplished by a regular war against the Hungarian army (see p. 419). Austria, threatened with a renewed invasion by the Hungarians, appealed to the Tsar; and it was a Russian army that conquered Hungary.

Nicholas had posed as a restorer of legitimate monarchy. Palmerston posed as protector of revolutionary patriots. Five thousand Hungarians had taken refuge in Turkey; Austria and Prussia insisted upon their extradition. Palmerston induced the Sultan to refuse this. The two Emperors threatened, and broke off their diplomatic relations with the Sultan, but in the end had to be content with the expulsion of the refugees from Turkey. The Sultan imprisoned about thirty of them, whose release Palmerston accomplished after two years' of negotiating. England also protested against the treatment of political prisoners in the Kingdom of Naples.

Austria's Triumph over Prussia (1850).—Austria, busy with Italy and Hungary, had left the King of Prussia to work his will

in German affairs; he had put down the insurrections, organized the Union (see p. 397), and taken up the question of the duchies. But Austria and Russia were agreed to make the restoration complete by destroying Prussia's work.

The King of Prussia found himself divided by two contradictory sentiments: from German patriotism he supported the Germans in the duchies; from self-respect he held to the Union, since Austria wished to destroy it; but his respect for legitimacy kept him from interesting himself in subjects who revolted against their sovereign and in a constitution voted by a revolutionary parliament. He agreed to change the constitution of the Union, but by a conference between Prussia and Austria without interference from the Diet, which he regarded as dissolved. The Austrian government insisted on referring matters to the Diet; it did not wish to make war on Prussia single-handed, but was trying to draw Russia and the German states into it.

Schwarzenberg's policy, summed up in the famous epigram: "Humiliate Prussia, then destroy her," consisted in compromising the King of Prussia with the Tsar by compelling him to declare himself opposed to restoration. Nicholas, though displeased with the King of Prussia for having given a "democratic" constitution to his people, and also favorable to the King of Denmark, wished, nevertheless, to avert war between the two conservative monarchies of Germany. He promised his support to the one that remained faithful to the treaties of 1815.

The Berlin Conference failed to settle the question of the duchies. England and France * insisted that it should be settled. All the powers were inclined to return to the arrangements existing prior to 1848. The King of Prussia, in alarm, decided to desert the Germans in the duchies, and made the Treaty of Berlin, July 2. The conference was transferred to London. England, France, and Russia pledged themselves to maintain the integrity of the Danish monarchy, thus giving the question of the duchies a European interest. They later solved the problem of the succession (1852) by a permanent union of Denmark with the duchies.

Then Austria, approaching the question of the Union, asked the King of Prussia to declare null the Constitution of Erfurt. The King perceived that this constitution was impracticable, but

* Napoleon's attempts to profit by the disunion between Prussia and Austria, his sending of Persigny in 1849, and his conversation with the Prussian ambassador in 1850, had no practical effect.

he did not wish to abandon the principle. Schwarzenberg mobilized his forces, the Kings of Wurtemburg and Bavaria joined Austria against Prussia; the three sovereigns had an interview in October, in which a martial toast was drunk.

The Prussian government divided into two parties, one for peace, the other for mobilization. The King first let his ministry decide by majority for peace (Prince William was one of the minority); then, on learning that Austria was bringing troops into Bavaria, he ordered mobilization. The war was thought to be begun; there was even a skirmish. Then Schwarzenberg (November 5) demanded the withdrawal of the Prussian troops. The King obeyed; and, yielding on the question of the Union, he had it declared dissolved by his allies. He merely asked to be intrusted with the execution of the decisions of the Diet in Holstein and in Hesse (his object was to support the people of Hesse in maintaining their constitution). Austria refused, and the Tsar supported her.

The King of Prussia, isolated and distressed, again gave way; he asked an interview with Schwarzenberg. This was the famous Olmütz interview, November 28, 1850—the symbol of Prussia's humiliation. The Prussian envoy promised disarmament. Prussia obtained in return only the promise of a conference, which was held at Dresden in 1851, and led to nothing but certain exchanges of notes.

There remained nothing of Prussia's plans. Germany, having seen her publicly give way, long retained the impression that she had not the strength to resist Austria.

Recognition of the French Empire (1852).—The restoration of the monarchical system in France was welcomed by the great powers. The Tsar approved the *coup d'état*, though protesting beforehand against the title of emperor. Austria even accepted the title of emperor, "however injurious it may seem to the dignity of the old dynasties to yield an equal rank to an individual like Louis Napoleon." In England Palmerston approved the *coup d'état;* and it was the occasion of a conflict with his colleagues and the Queen, who reproached him with having acted contrary to the decisions adopted by the Cabinet. The King of Prussia, though ill disposed toward the usurper, followed the example of the other governments.

The proclamation of the Empire reopened the French question. The treaties of 1815 and 1818 excluded forever the Bonaparte family from the throne of France; the accession of a Na-

poleon was, therefore, a *casus belli.* The numeral adopted by Napoleon (III.) aggravated the violation of the treaties by counting as a legitimate sovereign Napoleon II., who had never been recognised by the Allies. But the advantage of seeing France once more a monarchy decided the governments to accept the new empire; Napoleon III., like Louis Philippe, had formally assured them of his intention to maintain peace.

The four great powers contented themselves with announcing in December, 1852, that they would accept Napoleon's promises of peace and continue to maintain the *status quo.* After this the English government, followed by all the rest, recognised the Empire. But the Tsar would grant only the title "good friend," saying that the Russian court said "dear brother" only to those sovereigns whose claim rested on the same principle as that of the Tsar.

Napoleon, though recognised, was not admitted to equality with the princes of Europe. When he wanted to marry, no princely house, not even the Vasas, nor the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, was willing to give him a daughter. He decided, in 1853, to marry Eugénie de Montijo, belonging to an old family of the Spanish nobility.

The Tsar and the Eastern Question (1852-53).—Nicholas, having restored order in the East, wished to settle the Eastern question. He felt himself able to count on the docility of Austria and Prussia; he had only to come to an agreement with England. He had not wished to treat with Palmerston, the patron of revolutionists. But a coalition ministry, under Aberdeen, having succeeded to power in 1852, he renewed the proposition which he had made without success in 1844 to the Peel ministry, namely, that England and Russia should settle the Eastern question together. He told the English ambassador that "the sick man" (Turkey) was dying and that he believed the moment at hand to arrange with England for his burial; for his own part, he had decided to occupy Constantinople as a pledge, but not to keep it. He then offered Egypt and Crete to England.

The English government, as always before, supported the Ottoman Empire. The English ambassador to Constantinople, Stratford Canning, was personally hostile to Russia, and encouraged the Sultan to resist the Tsar. Since 1850 a conflict for the possession of the Holy Places had been raging between the Catholics, under French protection, and the Orthodox (or Greek Church) believers, under Russian protection (see p. 626). The

Turkish government, pressed by the two rival states, had tried to escape trouble by granting the demands of both (January, 1852); but the two grants were contradictory. France and Russia both demanded a solution, each in accordance with its own document; both threatened the Sultan with force.

The Tsar, under pretext of settling the question, sent a special envoy, Menschikoff, who arrived in Constantinople in April, 1853, with a grand escort and the airs of a master. The English ambassador knew that he had come to conclude a special treaty that should recognise the Tsar as the protector of Orthodox churches throughout the Turkish Empire. He therefore advised the Porte to decide the question of the Holy Places as Russia wished,—which was done,—and to reject the treaty for the guarantees of the Greek Church. Menschikoff then presented an ultimatum. The Sultan refused, and, in May, Menschikoff withdrew, severing diplomatic relations.

The Tsar was annoyed and wanted to declare war, but his ministry advised peace. As a compromise the Tsar accepted a halfway measure. He sent an army, in July, to occupy the Roumanian principalities, but without declaring war on the Sultan. This was a means of coercion that he had tried before. It now stirred up public opinion in England and displeased Austria. The governments of the great powers, not as yet disposed to war, arranged a note of conciliation. The Tsar accepted it, but Stratford Canning persuaded the Sultan to demand a change in terminology, which the Tsar refused (September).

At the Sultan's request the English and French fleets entered the Straits, contrary to the convention of 1841. Russia protested. England replied that Turkey, since the occupation of the principalities, was no longer at peace. The Sultan ordered the Turkish army to cross the Danube and declared war on the Tsar (November 4). The Eastern question was opened again; but the Sultan was not alone in the face of the Tsar. For the first time since 1815 the great powers were to make war. The European concert was definitely at an end.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

FRENCH PREPONDERANCE AND THE NATIONALIST WARS, 1854-70.

Transformations in European Policy.—The period from 1844 to 1854 had been a period of internal revolution and external peace; in 40 years there had been no great European war, no change in the Europe of 1815 but the creation of the two little kingdoms of Greece and Belgium and the destruction of the Republic of Cracow. With the Crimean war began a period of wars and territorial changes: in 16 years there were four European wars between great powers, not to mention the local wars in Italy and Denmark; all central Europe was rearranged.

This change was produced by the arrival in power of new rulers in France and Prussia, the two great powers which had hitherto remained inactive, and in Sardinia, a secondary state, which, in these years, raised itself to the rank of a European power.

In France, Napeoleon III., invested with the power of declaring war and concluding treaties independently of the Chamber and of public opinion, was absolute master of foreign policy. His army was thought very strong, and he did not shrink from the idea of war. By suppression of her political life at home, France became a preponderating force in Europe. But Napoleon III. directed this force according to his personal views. He abandoned the monarchical tradition of a policy of peace and national interest. Formerly an Italian revolutionist and a partisan of Italian unity, he leaned toward a revolutionary policy. Openly hostile to the treaties of 1815 and to Austria also, advocating the right of peoples to determine their own political fortunes, he wished to destroy the work of the Allies. He wished to employ France in the disinterested work of helping the oppressed nationalities to emancipate themselves, expecting as recompense some increase of territory for France—what Bismarck ironically called a *pourboire* (waiter's tip). This was the "policy of nation-

alities," combined with a policy of annexations. But Napoleon's personal adherents were divided into two hostile parties: the revolutionary party, directed by Prince Jerome, urged intervention on behalf of nationalism and a war against Austria; the conservative party, represented by the Empress, wanted peace and maintenance of the Catholic powers. Napoleon, subject to personal influences, hesitated, wavered from one party to the other, took contradictory measures; sometimes he even concealed his actions from his ministers, and took, through secret agents, steps opposed to the official line of conduct decided on by his government. This gave his policy an incoherent and tortuous appearance.

In Sardinia, the new King, Victor Emmanuel, had a small but efficient army. He left the direction of his foreign policy to Cavour (see p. 348), an Italian patriot who was determined to achieve Italian unity by any and all means.

Prussia remained passive until William I. succeeded to the throne. Although personally a lover of peace, like his two predecessors, William was before everything commander of the army, and might be persuaded to face a war. After 1862 he left the direction of his foreign policy to Bismarck, a German patriot, who had determined to secure German unity by force of arms. Now the Prussian army, by its universal service, perfected armament, rapid mobilization, and skilful tactics, was to show itself the strongest army in Europe.

In face of these three powers which were beginning to act, the powers which had controlled Europe were reduced to a passive rôle. Austria, weakened by Hungarian nationalist opposition and disturbed by financial complications, had only a defensive policy. Emperor Francis Joseph, who conducted her foreign affairs, had no love for war. He was, however, unable to avoid it, and went into it under unfavourable conditions, with an army ill equipped, ill commanded, and slow in its movements. In Russia Nicholas had been succeeded, in 1855, by Alexander, a humane and peace-loving prince, who reigned twenty years without making war in Europe. In England Palmerston continued to manage foreign affairs until his death in 1865, but his measures of intimidation no longer influenced powers that had decided on war. England, with her small army of volunteers, could not fight against the continental armies, with their compulsory military service. The English government resigned itself to the impotence which was now plain to the eyes of the

world. It abstained from military policy, except where a vital English interest was to be defended.

Europe was led, during this period, by France, Italy, and Prussia,—in other words, by Napoleon, Cavour, and Bismarck,—and her policy depended upon their relations. All three had a common ground of interest, the principle of nationalities and opposition to Austria. The former European concert rested on the "maintenance of the treaties," but the revolutions of '48, by realizing for a moment the new nations, Italian, German, and Hungarian, had shaken the system that the treaties had established. They had brought up new questions of nationality all over central Europe. The reaction had crushed the nationalist movements without solving these problems. They were to come up again; but this time the conservative power, Austria, found itself alone against Napoleon, Cavour, and Bismarck, who had become allies of nationalist revolution.

The Crimean War (1853-56).—The war between the Sultan and the Tsar, instead of remaining localized as in 1828, became a European war. Napoleon III., desiring to make himself a position in Europe, had joined the English government to defend the Ottoman Empire. France and England had together sent their fleets to Constantinople. The Russian fleet, crossing the Black Sea, came to destroy the Turkish fleet at Sinope, November 30, 1853. In England public indignation was aroused against the Aberdeen ministry and Prince Albert, who desired to maintain peace; the English did not want to leave the Russians masters of the Black Sea. The English government decided to accept Napoleon's propositions. The united English and French fleets entered the Black Sea, in January, 1854, with orders to request the withdrawal of all Russian ships to Sebastopol. The Tsar was displeased, and determined to break with France and England.

The rupture was retarded by negotiations with the two German states. France and England finally demanded the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Roumanian principalities, which the Tsar refused. They then concluded a treaty with the Sultan, promising him the aid of an army and engaging not to treat separately (March 12). On March 27 they declared war on Russia, and on April 10 agreed not to seek any individual advantage in the war. They invited the other powers to join them; the King of Prussia refused from aversion to the revolutionary projects of Napoleon and Palmerston; in order to keep Austria neutral, he promised to support her in case of attack.

The Allies were at first unwilling to free the Roumanian provinces from the Russian occupation because this would remove Austria's sole motive for joining against the Tsar. They confined themselves to a defensive war. A small Franco-English army was sent to Gallipoli to defend Constantinople, and an expedition was sent to the Piræus to check the Greeks. As the Russians did not advance, the army re-embarked, and at the request of the Turks proceeded to Varna; thence to the Dobrudja, where it was decimated by cholera. These operations were conducted slowly and confusedly.

The Tsar still hesitated; he tried to conciliate his former allies, Prussia and Austria. He finally evacuated Roumania, thus leaving no motive for war. But France and England wanted to assure the future; they arranged with Austria "points" to impose on the Tsar: 1. The Roumanian principalities to be under European guarantee, instead of Russian; 2. free navigation of the Danube; 3. revision of the Straits Convention to neutralize the Black Sea; 4. protection of the Sultan's Christian subjects without injury to his sovereignty (August 8). Russia rejected the four "points," declaring that she would await the progress of events. The Austrians and Turks occupied the Roumanian provinces in September.

The defensive war was at an end. Napoleon proposed to incite revolt in the Caucasus; England preferred to attack Sebastopol, Russia's military seaport on the Black Sea. Thus the war for the protection of the Ottoman Empire led to an expedition against the Crimea.

The Russians were not expecting an attack from this direction; they had stationed 200,000 men on the Baltic Sea, 140,000 in Poland, 180,000 on the Danube, and only 50,000 in the Crimea. The little Russian army could not prevent the landing of the allies, but it was intrenched on steep ground, and the battle of Alma, September 30, was so bloody that the Franco-English army gave the garrison of Sebastopol time to improve the defences of the place by scuttling the ships in the bay and raising earthworks. The French general Canrobert, when he reached Sebastopol, did not venture an assault; he conducted a regular siege.

It was a slow and murderous siege, which absorbed all the forces of the allies. The besieging army had been attacked by cholera, which delayed their operations. When they were ready for the assault, a Russian army came to the assistance of the city

and forced them to fight on the plain and in the valleys the bloody battles of Inkermann and Balaklava, in November, 1854. The allies had to face a winter campaign in a desert country, in intense cold; nothing had been prepared. The English army, poorly sheltered and provisioned, lost half of its numbers. English opinion was aroused, and insisted on the resignation of the Aberdeen ministry.

The allies sent new troops and were re-enforced by a Turkish army which on its arrival fought at Eupatoria, February, 1855. Sardinia sent an army corps. Sardinia joined the war in January to please the Western powers and flatter Napoleon. Austria also had concluded an offensive alliance in the preceding month, and urged Prussia and the Diet to prepare for war. But the Diet, though hitherto obedient to Austria, refused to move, and Austria dared not act alone.

All at once Nicholas died (March 2, 1855), from chagrin, it was said, at being conquered by the Turks. The war had no further purpose, and negotiations for its termination were opened at Vienna. The negotiations failed because Alexander refused the third point, to limit the number of Russian war vessels on the Black Sea, to which England clung obstinately. The allies therefore completed the siege of Sebastopol; a bombardment was still necessary (250,000 cannon shots, 8000 killed, in April)—a battle (Tchernäia, in May),—the attack on the Mamelon fort (in June; 13,000 killed),—an unsuccessful assault,—a second bombardment,—an assault on the Malakoff. The Russians destroyed everything, then evacuated the place (September).

The allies, masters of Sebastopol, did not know how to force the Tsar to peace. Napoleon proposed to excite nationalist wars in Poland, Finland, and the Caucasus, or to make a naval war by blockading the Baltic. But the Anglo-French fleet in the Baltic in 1854 and 1855 had been able to bombard only isolated points; Sweden did not dare enter the war. England desired only a limited war. Napoleon decided in November to make peace, against the wishes of Palmerston, who threatened to continue the war alone with the Turks. Austria undertook to present to the Tsar an ultimatum containing four points, which the Tsar accepted in January, 1856, and the powers concerned decided to arrange the conditions of peace in a congress at Paris.

The Congress of Paris (1856).—The Congress of Paris, in March and April, 1856, was composed of two plenipotentiaries from each of the six powers, France, England, Russia, Turkey,

Austria, and Sardinia, under the presidency of the French plenipotentiaries; Prussia was afterward invited to join.

The Congress began by settling the Eastern question.

1. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the powers; the Sultan promised reforms (see p. 626), and the powers renounced any right of intervention in the internal affairs of the Empire.

2. The Danube was declared open to navigation; a commission of representatives from the seven powers was to take measures to make the river navigable and establish tolls to cover the expenses; the supervision was then to pass into the hands of a commission from the bordering states.

3. The Black Sea was declared neutral, and no state was to have on its coast any maritime arsenals nor any vessels of war, beyond the number, not to exceed ten, of small ships requisite for policing the coasts.

4. Moldavia and Wallachia became self-governing (see p. 640).

After signing the peace, the Congress regulated the question of maritime law by four decisions which became part of European international law: 1. Privateering is abolished; 2. All enemy property, other than contraband, carried under a neutral flag is exempt from capture; 3. all neutral merchandise under the enemy's flag is similarly exempt; 4. blockade may not be established by a simple declaration; it is valid only when effective.

Cavour, representing Sardinia, succeeded in bringing up the Italian question in the Congress by making terms with the representatives of France and England. These spoke of the evacuation of the Piræus by the French troops, and used the occasion thus afforded to bring up the continued occupation of Tuscany by the Austrians; England asked that it should cease. Austria refused to discuss the matter. But Cavour took advantage of this opportunity to describe the lamentable condition of Italy.

Napoleon's Predominance (1856-59).—The Congress of Paris had been a personal success for Napoleon and his policy. Not only had he gained the admission of France into the European concert, but for the first time he had had a European congress meet on his territory and under his presidency. He had secured autonomy for the Roumanians and brought up the Italian nationalist question, making the instrument Metternich had created against the nationalities serve in the nationalist cause. He was attached to this idea, and his policy aimed at the calling of

a new congress to make over Europe and abolish the treaties of 1815; but without success.

The Congress of Paris changed Napoleon's position in Europe. The sovereigns, seeing him firm at home and powerful abroad, made advances to him. The example was set by the princes of the Coburg family; Ernest of Coburg-Gotha was the first to make him a visit; after him came Leopold, King of the Belgians, then the King of Portugal; finally Prince Albert, consort of Queen Victoria, consented to see Napoleon, in September, 1854. Napoleon and the Empress went to England the following April, and Victoria and Albert returned their visit—the first time since 1422 that an English sovereign had visited Paris. The Coburg example decided Victor Emmanuel, who had hitherto refused. After the Congress of 1856 the sovereigns of Wurtemburg, Bavaria, and Tuscany visited France.

Napoleon wished to use these relations to take up an active policy again. He sought to gain the King of Prussia, but failed; in August, 1857, he spoke to the English ministry of revising the treaties of 1815, but was coldly received. He then approached Russia, having an interview with the Tsar at Stuttgart in October, 1857. In 1858 France and Russia worked together for Roumanian unity against Turkey, Austria, and England; in Servia they combined to support the Obrenovitch against Austria.

Alliance between France and Sardinia (1858).—Cavour, who had decided to make war on Austria, declared publicly to the Chamber that the principles of Vienna and those of Turin were irreconcilable. In May, 1856, Austria replied that the Emperor would continue to use his right of intervention. The following year (March, 1857) the Austrian government severed diplomatic relations with Sardinia.

Napoleon still hesitated. Orsini, a Mazzinist, in January, 1858, attempted to kill him for having failed to keep the oath he had sworn in his youth to work for the independence of Italy. The attempt made a great impression on Napoleon; he had Orsini's letter published (see p. 351). He then sent for Cavour, and the two, meeting secretly at Plombières, concluded an alliance and prepared for war (July, 1858). The practical conditions were soon arranged: all the Austrian possessions in Italy for Sardinia, Savoy for France; and eventually Parma and Modena for Sardinia, and in this case Nice for France. But they had difficulty in arranging a pretext for the war; Napoleon was unwilling to appear in support of a revolution. As the price of

the alliance, Victor Emmanuel gave Princess Clotilde in marriage to Prince Jerome, the Emperor's cousin, a partisan of nationalist schemes. Napoleon hoped to profit by the nationalist uprisings in Italy to give Tuscany to his cousin, and the Kingdom of Naples to Prince Murat. In order to isolate Austria he sent his cousin to the Tsar, who promised neutrality; he asked Prussia for her alliance, but was refused.

Meanwhile Napoleon, disturbed by conspiracies against his person, had conducted a diplomatic campaign against the French refugees. He secured a special law for the repression of insults to foreign sovereigns, in Sardinia by Cavour, in Belgium by the new Liberal ministry. But in England the bill presented by Palmerston, coupled with the anti-English utterances in France, offended national sentiment, and the House of Commons rejected the measure (February, 1858). The ministry resigned, and the new Tory ministry, under Derby, showed a more friendly disposition toward Austria.

The Italian War (1859).—The project of war on Austria had been kept secret. It was suddenly announced by two significant utterances: the one, a word from Napoleon to the Austrian ambassador, at the New Year's reception in 1859; the other, a sentence in Victor Emmanuel's speech from the throne on January 10, in which mention is made of the "cry of pain which resounded from so many parts of Italy." Armament began on both sides.

England, on request from Austria, offered her mediation, invited France and Sardinia to set forth their grievances, and proposed the evacuation of the Italian states and certain reforms. Napoleon appeared to hesitate. The war was popular in France, especially with the liberal and Republican parties, the enemies of the government. It was regarded with disfavour by the ministers, the Empress, the salons, the Catholics, and the business world. Napoleon got Russia to propose a congress, his favourite idea (March, 1859). Austria insisted that Sardinia should not be invited to the Congress and that she should disarm. England proposed that all the Italian states should be invited and that both sides should disarm at once; Napoleon could not confess that he wanted the war; he had to accept England's proposal, and telegraphed Cavour to accept also. Cavour was in despair, but replied that he would obey. It was Austria that brought on the war by sending to the King of Sardinia an ultimatum demanding his promise to disarm within three days. Sardinia refused to comply, and the Austrian army entered Sardinian ter-

ritory. Austria thus appeared to have made the war, and was left in isolation.

The war of 1859 consisted of two operations which showed the almost equal disorder and incoherency of direction of the two armies. Austria, with 250,000 men, had only 110,000 at her disposal; 32 French regiments had an effective force of less than 1400 men; mobilization was slow and incomplete on both sides.

1. The Austrian army of 100,000 men, instead of taking the offensive against the Sardinian army of only 70,000, gave the French, with 130,000 men, time to join the Sardinians at Alessandria. Then, thinking that the enemy was about to march southward on Parma, the Austrians sent a detachment to prevent the movement; but this force was repulsed at Montebello. Meanwhile the Franco-Sardinian army, passing to the north, took the offensive and entered Lombardy (battle of the advance-guard at Palaestro, May 30). The Austrians fell back to the defence of Milan and took a position in the plain behind a canal. The decisive battle of Magenta was a confused struggle conducted without any general plan. A partial attack by the French on the bridge of the canal was followed by a series of combats between re-enforcements sent by both sides. The Austrian general had already telegraphed the news of his victory, and Napoleon believed himself beaten, when MacMahon's corps, arriving at the last minute, compelled the Austrians to retreat. The French army, in disorder, spent the night where they stood, without pursuing the enemy. The result was the retreat of the Austrians from Lombardy, followed by a nationalist revolution there.

2. The Austrian army formed again in Venetia, where the Emperor came to place himself at its head. Re-enforced to 200,000 men, after much hesitation it took the offensive once more in order to reconquer Lombardy. The Franco-Sardinian army, somewhat fewer in number, marched on the Mincio. The two armies met unexpectedly, each being ignorant of the other's movements. The unexpected battle of Solferino, on June 24, consisted of three separate affairs: one in the north, where the Sardinian army was checked; another in the south, where Niel held firm and accused Canrobert of not having supported him (they had a duel later); the third in the centre, where the taking of Solferino by the French compelled the Austrians to retreat.

Peace with Austria (1859).—Napoleon, agitated by the sight of the battlefield, disturbed by quarrels between his generals, became disgusted with the war; he did not feel strong enough to

overcome the Quadrilateral. He thought to distract Austria by revolution in Hungary; he had put himself in personal communication with Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian refugees, and had had him come to Paris. He now summoned him to Italy. But he feared a rupture with England.

The German public, alarmed at France's success, urged Prussia to take Austria's part. Prince William had been waiting to make Austria accept his conditions, but he finally mobilized and threatened the Rhine frontier. Napoleon, not to leave the powers time to impose their mediation on him, negotiated directly with the Emperor of Austria. A personal interview at Villafranca on July 11 settled the preliminaries of peace. The final treaty was concluded at Zurich in November, 1859: Lombardy alone was ceded to Sardinia; Tuscany and Modena were to be restored to their princes, and an Italian federation was provided for. Except for the cession of Lombardy, no clause of the agreement was carried out.

Annexations and the Italian Question (1860-62).—Napoleon let Italian unity get accomplished by Italian revolutionists, assisted by the Sardinian government (see pp. 351-54), and in return for his neutrality obtained Savoy and Nice.

This annexation excited general distrust of Napoleon. Switzerland claimed the part of Savoy declared neutral by the treaties of 1815, and the Swiss Federal Council talked of military occupation. The King of Holland, who had been on unfriendly terms with Belgium since 1830, paid a visit to the King of the Belgians. In Germany the *National Union* protested against the annexation. In England volunteer militia was formed to defend the coast against a landing of French troops.

Napoleon protested that he had no thought but of peace; he worked in harmony with England in China, Syria, and Turkey, and concluded the treaty of commerce of 1860. But the distrust continued. England, Prussia, and Austria arranged to discuss together every international communication coming from France.

The creation of the Kingdom of Italy had brought up the Roman question (p. 356). Napoleon tried to secure a congress to settle it peaceably, but Europe did not want one. He still hesitated, not daring either to withdraw his garrison from Rome or to recognise the Kingdom of Italy, the outcome of a revolution condemned by the Pope. Then he made a compromise. Against the wishes of the Empress, he recognised the Kingdom

of Italy, on June 15, 1861, but with the qualification that he would not guarantee it and did not wish to detract from the value of the protests of the *curia*. He wrote personally to Victor Emmanuel that his past obliged him to leave his troops in Rome; but he replaced his ambassador, Gramont, a partisan of the Pope, by sending Lavalette, a partisan of Italy. He instructed the new ambassador to propose to the Pope to cede his provinces to the King of Italy as vicar. The Pope replied that he and his cardinals were bound by their oath to maintain the integrity of the States of the Church. After Garibaldi's attempt (p. 354) Napoleon took as ministers supporters of the Pope and of the peace with Austria (October, 1862).

The Polish Affairs (1863).—Napoleon, disgusted with affairs in Italy, returned to the nationalist question in Poland. After some years of nationalistic agitation, the Poles had revolted in order to induce the powers to intervene. Insurgent bands came from outside, notably from Austria. In all the great states public opinion was loud in favour of intervention.

The Tsar, hampered by finding himself isolated and censured, addressed himself personally to the King of Prussia; Bismarck used this opportunity to establish an understanding between Prussia and Russia. He concluded a convention in February, 1863, to combine the military action of the two states against the insurgents, and against the wish of all Germany declared himself openly hostile to the Poles. The other great powers, Austria, England, and France, took the part of Poland.

Napoleon first addressed the Tsar in a personal letter, urging him to restore the Kingdom of Poland. On his refusal Napoleon proposed to make a common war on Russia; England refused. The three powers agreed only to propose to the Tsar certain reforms in Poland, and loaded him with diplomatic communications. They did not wish, however, to go so far as to make war. The Russian government knew it, and the affair was limited to the exchange of notes (p. 600). Austria, threatened with war by Russia, put Galicia under martial law in order to hasten the end of the insurrection. England, busy with the question of the Elbe duchies, deserted Poland. Napoleon attempted his favourite method: he invited the powers to a congress to settle all the pending questions—Poland, the duchies, and Rome, and to revise the treaties of 1815. England, by way of answer, showed the futility of such a congress.

Napoleon thus remained isolated and powerless—at variance

with the Tsar, and entangled in the Roman question. He had lost his predominance; Prussia, with the Tsar's alliance, was to succeed to it.

The War of the Duchies (1864).—The question of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, opened in 1848, and closed by the powers' decision in 1852, was reopened by the extinction of the Danish dynasty in 1863 (p. 572). The German states supported the Duke of Augustenburg; the European powers defended the integrity of the Danish monarchy; Austria and Prussia took an intermediate position, accepting the Glücksburg succession guaranteed by Europe, but rejecting the new Danish constitution (January, 1864). There were then three parties: 1. Denmark, supported by the great non-German powers; 2. the Duke of Augustenburg, supported by the States of Germany; 3. Prussia and Austria.

The Danish government was counting on European intervention. England declared to Prussia that she did not guarantee neutrality, and proposed a conference of the powers that had signed the treaty of 1852 (December, 1863). But Napoleon, displeased with England for having abandoned him in the Polish affair, thought to apply the "principle of nationalities" by uniting to Germany the German parts of the duchies. He refused armed assistance to Denmark. Queen Victoria did not want war, and the English ministry dared not send an ultimatum. Prussia and Austria began the war of the duchies in January, 1864. It is divided into three acts.

1. The Danish army of 35,000 men, intrenched behind the lines of the Danewerk, had received orders that the operations should be dragged out long enough to give Europe time to intervene, but not to expose itself to defeat, for it was the only Danish army. The Austro-Prussian army, of 70,000 men, was instructed to destroy the Danish army without giving it time to reach the lines of retreat in case of an attempt to retire to Jutland. It attacked the Danewerk, but the Danish army, without waiting to be forced, withdrew by night and escaped. The allies took possession of the whole of Schleswig in January and February, 1864.

2. The Danish army, stationed behind the Düppel intrenchments, barred the entrance to Jutland. The operations against Düppel, in March and April, consisted of a five-weeks' blockade, a bombardment, and a general assault of six columns against the redoubts. The Danes evacuated Jutland, and the allies occupied

it. England had finally succeeded in organizing the London Conference; but when it opened, on April 12, the taking of Düppel had already practically settled the question; victorious Prussia and Austria no longer wished to recognise the treaties of 1852 and demanded the complete separation of the duchies from Denmark. England offered France to agree on an ultimatum. France recalled "the deplorable issue" of their course in the Polish question and asked if England was willing to conclude an offensive alliance. England made no reply, and the conference broke up without accomplishing anything.

3. When the armistice had expired, in June, the allies invaded the islands. The Danish government asked for peace. The peace of Vienna, concluded in October 30, ceded the duchies to Prussia and Austria.

Rupture between Prussia and Austria (1864-66).—Austria and Prussia had been in conflict since 1860, when reform of the Confederation had been attempted (p. 465). But the Austrian government, having fallen out with the German states on the question of the duchies, had made overtures to Prussia.

The conflict began again with the question of determining the disposition of the duchies they had conquered together. A special council of the Prussian ministers, July 21, 1865, declared Austria's concessions insufficient and advised immediate war. But King William was unwilling to attack, and Austria, having no money, wished to avoid a war. The Gastein Convention in August settled the question provisionally by dividing the duchies. France protested against this act as a violation of the principle of nationalities and the popular will, and as a revival of a procedure that had become obsolete in Europe. Thus the French theory of popular right as expressed by *plebiscite*, was avowed, in opposition to the traditional theory of the *right of conquest* adopted by Prussia. (On the famous formula, *La force prime le droit*, Force masters law, by which the French public characterize Bismarck's policy, see p. 463.)

Napoleon had made advances to Italy, bringing up the Roman question by the September convention, 1864. The peace party, which had held the ministry since 1862, hoped to reconcile Italy with Austria by inducing the latter to give up Venetia. But the Italian government wished to keep its army ready, and Austria still refused to recognise the Kingdom of Italy.

Bismarck tried to conclude an alliance with Italy against Austria. Italy could do nothing that France did not approve; Na-

poleon's authorization must therefore be obtained. Bismarck came to ask it of him. The Biarritz interview of October, 1865,* was the decisive act of this negotiation. Napoleon resumed his personal policy: to bring about the national unity of Italy, to fortify Prussia against Austria, and to profit by the conflict to gain territory and destroy the treaties of 1815.† Bismarck's game was to encourage these hopes without making any formal engagement. He prevailed on Napoleon to promise the neutrality of France.

With Italy the negotiation was long. The Italian government, having twice already received a proposition of alliance, in 1862 and 1865, no longer believed in Bismarck's sincerity, suspecting him of using Italy to alarm Austria. When the conflict with Austria became bitter Prussia sounded the Italian government, and an Italian general was sent to Berlin. But the negotiations dragged along without result. Italy hoped to gain Venetia without war, in exchange for Roumania, which had become vacant (p. 644). In Prussia both King William and most of the ministers desired peace. Bismarck, however, succeeded in obtaining an offensive alliance for three months on April 8. Italy promised armed support to Prussia's plans for the reform of the Confederation, and Prussia promised to secure the cession of Venetia. Italy had wished not merely Venetia but "the Italian territories subject to Austria,"—which would have included the Tyrol, a part of the German Confederation; this Bismarck had declined to agree to. Napoleon promised neutrality.

Austria's policy was to delay a rupture in Germany in order to force Prussia, by taking the aggressive rôle, to alienate the German States (which plan succeeded) and in Europe to isolate Prussia by satisfying Italy. She proposed to Prussia, on April 25, that both sides should disarm, but not in Italy. She left France the hope that she would cede Venetia if Italy remained neutral. As compensation for Venetia she spoke of taking back Silesia from Prussia.

Napoleon, divided between Prince Jerome and the Catholic party, hesitated. He fell back on his favorite idea of a congress,

*Bismarck had gone to Biarritz the preceding year, but Napoleon and his minister of foreign affairs had not taken him seriously.

†In a speech at Auxerre, May 6, 1866, he said: "I detest these treaties of 1815, which we are expected to-day to make the basis of our foreign policy." Thiers had just made in the Chamber a speech against Prussia and German unity which was applauded even by the imperialist majority.

to revise the map of Europe. England and Russia agreed; Prussia and Italy, from regard for Napoleon, had agreed beforehand. Austria defeated the scheme by demanding that no increase of territory should be discussed and that the Pope should be invited.

The rupture came in Germany, in the Diet (p. 470). Prussia, reassured on the French side, removed her garrisons from the western frontier and concentrated all her powers against Austria and her allies.

The War of 1866.—War broke out at once in Bohemia, Venetia, and Germany, between Prussia allied with Italy and Austria allied with most of the German States. Like all the rest of Europe, Napoleon believed that as the forces were almost equal the war would be a long one; he was planning, when the belligerents were exhausted, to intervene as an all-powerful arbiter, without even needing to fight. This scheme was baffled by an unexpected development, the unprecedented swiftness of the Prussian army's successes.

For her war against Austria, Prussia mobilized 300,000 men and formed three separate armies,—the army of the Elbe, the first army of Silesia, and the second army of Silesia,—which entered Bohemia from three sides, and driving before them the Saxons and Austrians (June 26-30) manœuvred to come together again. The Austrian army, comprising 220,000 men, was more slowly mobilized, did not defend the defiles, and was reduced to the defensive. It concentrated itself in a fortified position in Königgraetz, already demoralized by the quick movements of the Prussians and the rapid fire of their needle-guns.

The war was decided in a single day. Two of the three Prussian armies (the Elbe and first Silesia) had met and were awaiting the third, which had to traverse more difficult passages. They attacked the Austrian army, intrenched on the steep heights of a forest country, defended by artillery arranged tier over tier. The battle of Sadowa or Königgraetz, on July 3, was long and bloody. It was decided by the arrival of the third Prussian army, which penetrated to the midst of the Austrian positions without having been perceived. The Austrian general, Benedek, said it was concealed by mist. The Austrians, having lost 25,000 men and 20,000 prisoners, retreated in disorder. They could do nothing more to hinder the enemy's march on Vienna.

In Italy, the Austrian army had held itself on the defensive, guarding Venetia. The Italian army, which was larger, attacked

it and was driven back. This was the battle of Custozza, June 24, which forced the Italians to fall back into Lombardy. After the news of Sadowa, the Italians made it a point of honour to conquer Venetia themselves; but the Italian army gained no decisive success, and their fleet was destroyed at Lissa by the Austrian fleet.

Peace of Prague (1866).—The Austrian government, in order to concentrate its forces against Prussia, ceded Venetia to Napoleon, begging him to negotiate peace with Italy (July 5). Napoleon seemed to be the arbiter of Europe. The minister of foreign affairs, who favoured Austria, urged him to mobilize and stop Prussia by threatening to take possession of the left bank of the Rhine, which was unprotected. But the minister of war confessed that the army was disorganized by the Mexican expedition and that he could not get together more than 40,000 men. Napoleon, who was in ill health, hesitated between two policies: whether to impose peace on Prussia or negotiate with her to secure advantage for himself.* He thus let slip the moment for intimidating Prussia by a demonstration on the Rhine. The policy of the Prussian government was to put Napoleon off with vague promises, keeping him passive while the Prussian army was marching on Vienna.

Napoleon first tried to check Italy by threatening to join Austria against her (July 9); Italy replied that she could agree to nothing without Prussia and refused an armistice. Napoleon then sent to the Prussian camp to ask the King to authorize a truce for Italy. He then proposed the bases of a peace (*July 14*): integrity of Austria, dissolution of the Confederation, confederation of northern Germany, and cession by Austria of her right in the duchies. On these conditions all were agreed. The difficulty was in arranging additions of territory; Prussia wished to annex several German states, but Austria dared not abandon her allies to that fate. Napoleon wanted to secure some territory to

* On July 4, at eleven o'clock at night, he signed a decree convoking the Chambers to vote the mobilization; on the 5th, at 5 o'clock in the morning, he countermanded the order. He held a council on the 5th; on the advice of Drouyn and the Empress, he decided to continue the preparations for war; then, on Lavalette's representation of the bad condition of the French army and the superiority of the needle gun, he suspended his decision; Drouyn insisted, saying that a military demonstration on the Rhine would suffice; Jerome objected on the ground that after having encouraged Prussia, a hostile attitude would make a bad impression. Napoleon remained undecided.

compensate France for the increase of Prussia. But Bismarck knew that Prussia's army made her mistress of the situation, and he stood out for his own terms.

By the preliminary peace of Nikolsburg, July 26, Austria withdrew from German affairs, ceding her right in the duchies and leaving Prussia free to establish a new confederation and to annex the North German states except Saxony. Bismarck made concessions of form: 1. The German states south of the Main, left out of the new confederation, should have the right to form a union of their own. 2. The northern districts of Schleswig should be restored to Denmark if their population so wished. The final peace of Prague of August 23 preserved these two clauses, but they remained illusory.

Napoleon asked Prussia for a territorial enlargement, and the Prussian envoy let him hope for one (July 19). When the Tsar proposed a congress to settle the changes in Germany, it was Napoleon himself that refused, hoping to gain more from Prussia. He offered a secret understanding for mutual enlargement: France to have the possessions of Bavaria and Hesse on the left bank of the Rhine. Bismarck insisted upon a written draft of the scheme (to use against Napoleon), then refused it, and later published it in a conversation with a correspondent of the *Siècle*. In face of the commotion in Germany, Napoleon withdrew his project, denied the rumours of negotiation (August 12), and turned to Belgium. He proposed (August 20) that Prussia should aid France to acquire Belgium and Luxemburg. Bismarck had the plan written out at Napoleon's dictation; he published it in 1870, to embroil England and Belgium with France.*

The South German states were isolated and quickly crushed by Prussia. They at once asked for France's mediation; but Bismarck showed them Napoleon's plans for annexation at their expense, and in August induced them to conclude with Prussia secret treaties of offensive and defensive alliance.

Napoleon therefore obtained no positive result, and Prussia, by a single war, acquired first place in Germany. Europe had done nothing to prevent it. Prussia's new methods of fighting had made the European concert powerless.

The Luxemburg Affair (1867).—The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, after the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, re-

*The Germans in 1870 seized the Rouher papers and published the report of the French envoy Benedetti on this negotiation.

mained occupied by the Prussian garrison of the federal fortress (see p. 243). Its sovereign, the King of Holland, was anxious to sell it; Napoleon grasped at this opportunity to secure additional territory. He believed that the Prussian government was only awaiting a pretext to withdraw its garrison in such a way as not to offend German public opinion; Bismarck left him under this delusion. The King of Holland agreed to sell, provided Prussia would consent; Bismarck did not refuse distinctly, but on March 19, 1867, he published the treaties concluded with the South German states in 1866, so as to show Prussia's power. He told the King of Holland that he would leave to him the responsibility for his acts. The King, believing that Bismarck wished only to have his hand forced, notified Napoleon that the sale would be made (March 30).

The treaty of cession had been drawn up and announced to Europe, when an interpellation was made in the Reichstag on the rumour of a sale of German territory by a prince of German blood. Bismarck replied that nothing had yet been arranged and sent word to the King of Holland that in the present agitated condition of opinion in Germany the cession of Luxemburg would result in war. The King withdrew his consent, in spite of French insistence. Napoleon seemed to shrink from the crisis. This was a diplomatic victory for Prussia.

The question of the federal fortress was settled by a European conference, which revised the treaty of 1839.

Latent Conflict between France and Prussia (1867-70).—By the superiority of her army Prussia had won first place in Europe, and she was preparing a complete union of Germany. The other great powers were not reconciled to these two revolutions, which threatened the old balance of power in Europe. But Austria was discouraged, England powerless, and the Tsar opposed to war. France felt strong enough single-handed to check Prussia and restore her own predominance. Public opinion in France had suddenly become hostile to German unity; people talked of "avenging Sadowa." In Prussia national pride, exalted by success, showed itself in threats against the "hereditary enemy." But on both sides these warlike sentiments were counterbalanced by the fear of a war which all felt would be a terrible one.

A period of hesitation followed. The visit of the Tsar and the King of Prussia to the World's Exposition at Paris in 1867 seemed to promise peace. But the interview between Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria in August, 1867, disturbed the public

mind, especially when Napoleon, on his return to France, referred in an official speech to "black clouds on the horizon." The party formerly in favour of peace (with Austria) now became a war party and sought alliances against Prussia. In Austria the Emperor had given the direction of foreign policy to a former minister of the King of Saxony and an enemy to Prussia, Count Beust, who still hoped to restore Austria to her old position in Germany.

Then came a series of agitations in the East, fomented, it was said, by French agents, to occupy Russia and keep her from interfering in the West. The revolt in Crete, supported by Greece (1866-68), a movement in Bulgaria excited by bands from Roumania (1868), a Roumanian agitation and armament (1868), a conspiracy in Servia, and a gathering of Polish refugees in Galicia, following each other in close succession. The Tsar, however, remained calm, and quiet was soon restored.

The French government was counting on Denmark against Prussia. Bismarck, before taking, in Schleswig, the *plebiscite* promised in 1866, asked special guarantees for protection of the Germans in Schleswig (1867); then, as no agreement could be made regarding the territory to be ceded, he broke off the negotiations in March, 1868. The Danish government sent its minister of war to Paris in April. The Austrian and Italian governments also wished to join France. But in Austria Beust was fettered by the Hungarians, who favoured peace, and the Germans, who hated France; in Italy the *Consorteria* ministry, favouring the French alliance, was intimidated by the Radicals, who were irritated by the Mentana affair. These wished to join Prussia and force France to abandon Rome. The whole negotiation was secret, and its nature has been interpreted in various ways, but no practical result was accomplished.

The occasion was the purchase of the Belgian railroads by the French Eastern Company, in February, 1869; the Belgian government forbade the sale. The French government attributed this check to Bismarck. Napoleon was annoyed, and proposed to Austria and Italy a triple alliance to put a stop to Prussia's encroachments and restore Austria to her old place in Germany. The negotiation was conducted by the ambassadors (March). Austria accepted the defensive alliance, but reserved the right of neutrality if France were the one to begin war (April). The Italians asked that the French troops might be withdrawn from Rome. and were content with Napoleon's promise to withdraw

them as soon as possible; but when, in August, it became necessary to ratify the project, the Italian ministry demanded the immediate withdrawal from Rome, and a declaration that France would not again intervene in Italian affairs. The negotiation hung in the balance; each of the three sovereigns simply promised to conclude no other alliance without notifying the other two. Napoleon then accepted a parliamentary ministry whose head, Ollivier, had declared himself in favour of peace and reconciliation with Germany. This ministry, in January, 1870, revived the plan for securing the peace of Europe by getting both France and Prussia to disarm; England agreed to transmit it. France offered to diminish her yearly military contingent by 10,000 men. Bismarck made the objection that Prussia's organization made disarmament impossible (February, 1870).

The proposition made to the Reichstag on February 24, to admit the Grand Duchy of Baden into the northern confederation, renewed the agitation against Prussia and German unity; Bismarck was reproached with having failed to reply that this would be contrary to the treaty of Prague, whereby the independence of the states south of the Main was guaranteed. Bismarck replied, through his newspapers, that the treaty did not forbid the Southern States to join the northern confederation. The Austrian Archduke Albert passed some weeks in Paris, studying the French military situation. He proposed to Napoleon a plan of campaign; the French army, he said, was too weak to fight Prussia *alone;* it should invade South Germany, which the Austrian and Italian armies would enter through Bavaria. Napoleon kept this plan without speaking of it (March).

The Vatican Council, and later the plebiscite on the constitutional changes, engaged the attention of the French government. The Catholic powers had refrained from interfering in the convocation of the Council; but when, in February, the plan for the promulgation of infallibility came up, Daru, the French minister of foreign affairs, together with Napoleon, drew up a note reserving the rights of the state and announcing the sending of a French representative to the Council. Ollivier prevented this course, the Holy See having claimed the right of the Church to arrange its affairs freely (March). Daru drew up a note which Austria approved; the Roman *curia* refused to bring it before the Council (April). France could influence the Pope by threatening to withdraw her troops from Rome; Ollivier persuaded Napoleon to renounce this means. Daru completed his

rupture with Ollivier on the question of the *plebiscite* (see p. 184).

In the reconstitution of the ministry, Daru, who favoured peace, was replaced by Gramont, an enemy to Prussia. Napoleon communicated the Archduke's plan of campaign to certain French officers and sent General Lebrun to Vienna, with no official mission, to discuss with the Archduke modifications of his plan: Austria and Italy needed six weeks to mobilize; France, which would be ready much sooner, would enter upon the campaign in South Germany; Austria and Italy would arm, but preserve their neutrality. Lebrun obtained a private audience with the Emperor of Austria, who told him he could not declare war at the same time with France (June).* Napoleon seemed to have given up the idea of war, for the minister of war asked the Chamber for 10,000 less men, and Ollivier declared that peace had never been more assured, the governments having all learned the necessity of respecting the treaties on which Europe's peace rested, that of Paris for the East, that of Prague for Germany (June 30).

Declaration of War (1870).—Peace seemed assured, Napoleon was ill, and the Prussian government taking a vacation, when a diplomatic incident suddenly produced a complication which in a few days led to a war between the two first military powers in Europe.

Since 1869 the Spanish provisional government had been seeking a king (see p. 311). It offered the throne to a Catholic

* Two French diplomats, the Duke of Gramont and Chaudordy, have given an interpretation of these negotiations that has been adopted in France by a proportion of the people and propagated by German historians hostile to Beust, who are disposed to believe in a secret plot prepared against Prussia.—Gramont said that France before declaring was had secured the aid of Austria and Italy; she had, if not a formal treaty, at least the promise that Austria would support her; neutrality was once a means to gain time for mobilization.—Chaudordy tells of Gramont's discussions (between July 15 and August 4, 1870) with Austrian and Italian ambassadors and military attachés—Metternich and Vitzthum, Nigra and Vimercati; he thinks that neutrality was agreed on in order to give Austria and Italy time to arm, and that these states were to enter upon the campaign in September, on condition that a French army should have entered South Germany.—This interpretation rests on two ambiguous phrases in a letter from Beust to the Austrian ambassador, July 20, 1870. —As for Italy, Prince Jerome declared that the alliance was wrecked by discord on the Roman question. There is, therefore, no proof that the Triple Alliance was ever more than a project (see v. Sybel, "Begründung des Deutschen Reiches," vol. vii.).

prince, Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, allied to the imperial family of France.* The offer was made four times to the Prince's father; three times it was refused, but the fourth time it was accepted, July, 1870. The French government, which had known of the negotiations even in 1869, received official information from Spain; it did not reply directly, fearing to offend Spanish pride by appearing to interfere in the free choice of a king. It addressed the Prussian government, declaring that France had but a poor opinion of the selection. The coming of a Hohenzollern to Spain was regarded as a provocation and a menace from Prussia; France, it was said, could not suffer the Empire of Charles V. to be restored. In Berlin it was said, on the contrary, that the choice of a Spanish sovereign did not concern the Prussian government; that it was a private affair of the Hohenzollern family, and that William had no authority over the Sigmaringen branch.†

In the French Chamber a question was raised regarding the candidacy of a Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne. The French ministry, favouring peace by a large majority, prepared a peaceful answer. But Gramont, who considered the affair a plot of Bismarck's, added a sentence on the craftiness of Prussia; it was received with patriotic acclamations in the Chamber, and the papers began to talk of war (June 6).

*The idea was originated by Salazar, a Unionist Spanish deputy, in February, 1869: 1. Proposition made to the Prince's father, who refused in the spring of 1869; the French agent in Prussia, Benedetti, on hearing of it, questioned Bismarck, who seemed to consider the refusal as certain. —2. Proposition carried secretly to the prince's father, who, before beginning negotiations, asked the assurance that William and Napoleon approved, and informed Napoleon of it, September, 1869.—3. Proposition carried secretly with two personal letters from Prim to William and Bismarck in February, 1870; William advised a refusal; Bismarck, who advocated acceptance, was taken sick and left for the country.—4. Proposition from the Spanish government on June 14; the Prince accepted.

† Two opposite interpretations have been given to these facts. The Germans, who believed there was a plan on foot between the three Catholic powers to make war on Prussia, regarded the sudden opposition of the French government to the Hohenzollern candidacy as a pretext for use as a *casus belli*.—The French, on the contrary, believed it a ruse of Bismarck's to pique France's pride and lead her into a war. Von Sybel's demonstration shows that neither of these two interpretations has been *proved*. But a suggestion from the King of Roumania, Charles of Hohenzollern, in 1894, indicates that the candidacy was an instrument of Prussian policy.

The European powers disapproved the Prince's candidacy and desired to maintain peace; the English government tried to induce Spain to withdraw the offer. Napoleon personally charged the King of Belgium to induce the Prince to reconsider his acceptance. On July 12 the Prince withdrew it by an official declaration. The matter was thought to be settled. Ollivier announced that peace was assured, and the public funds rose 2 francs.

But Gramont had already put the question on a new ground and created a new complication. Convinced that the Hohenzollern prince was only the secret tool of the King of Prussia, he asked William to forbid the Prince to accept this candidacy, which was so offensive to France. "No one," he said, "will believe that a Prussian prince could accept the Spanish crown without permission from the King, the head of his family. . . If the King has not given his permission, let him forbid it" (July 7). The King was taking the waters at Ems; the French government sent Benedetti there to present the new demand. The King replied that the matter was no affair of his government and that he had no power to forbid the Prince. Gramont, who felt sure that the King of Prussia made evasive answers in order to gain time for preparation, wished to oblige him to unmask; he gave orders to demand a categorical reply. He was trying to show Europe that Prussia was responsible for this affair and that France had forced her to draw back. The King, on the contrary, preserved the attitude of a disinterested spectator; on July 11 he said that he was waiting for the Prince's reply.

After the renunciation on July 12, Gramont, having no further ground for demanding a prohibition, wished to obtain from the King a declaration to satisfy French national honour; in the Chamber the belligerent Right announced an interpellation on the securities obtained for the future. The government, therefore, sent Benedetti to the King to say that, as the resignation was not a sufficient reply to the demands and still less a guarantee for the future, the King should promise that he would not allow the Prince to resume the candidacy. However, the council of French ministers refused the mobilization proposed by the minister of war.

The decisive action was taken at Ems on July 13. The King was in the park. Benedetti came in the morning to communicate to him the request for a guarantee. The King replied: "You are asking a promise without limit of time and for all

conditions. I cannot give it." Benedetti insisted; the King replied that he refused this unparalleled demand once for all. Then came a despatch from the Prussian ambassador saying that Napoleon was going to ask the King for a personal letter assuring him that he had had no intention to injure France's interests. William was vexed, and decided not to receive Benedetti again; he sent word to him by his aide-de-camp that the letter from the Prince of Sigmaringen had arrived confirming his withdrawal, and that he regarded the matter as at an end. Benedetti insisted upon an audience; the aide-de-camp replied that the King adhered to the declaration of the morning.

Bismarck, once more in Berlin, irritated by Gramont's declaration and by certain articles in the French newspapers, announced to the English ambassador his intention of demanding explanations and guarantees from France. He received by telegraph an account of the Ems interview, with authorization to communicate it to the press. He also published it immediately in his semi-official organ, the *North German Gazette*, in an abbreviated and precise form which brought out distinctly the King's refusal to reply to Benedetti's demands.*

The article was sent all over Europe, and made war inevitable. It was received in Germany as a patriotic demonstration, in France as an insult. The council of ministers, held on the morning of July 14, had still sought to maintain peace; it thought of Napoleon's favourite plan, a congress of the powers to establish the principle of excluding all members of reigning families from the Spanish throne. Another council, held at St. Cloud, at six o'clock that evening, was still deliberating, when Gramont received and read a despatch which caused an immediate decision in favour of mobilization; this was the news of the insult given to France.† War was announced the next day to the Chamber in

* Bismarck having boasted later of having modified the terms of the note to make war inevitable, the German socialists reproached him with having *falsified* the Ems despatch; and the French press has repeated this accusation. It is enough to compare the two texts to show that there was no falsification. The despatch sent to Bismarck by Abeken in the King's name is in a confidential and obscure form, not suitable for publication, and ends thus: "H. M. leaves it to your excellency to judge if Benedetti's new demand should not be communicated to our ambassador and the press." The note published by Bismarck adds nothing which is not in the despatch; it simply abbreviates it.

† The nature of this insult has always been obscure. German historians confuse it with Bismarck's article on the Ems interview. An oral tradition in French diplomatic circles attributes to King William a phrase which no one would ever dare to publish.

reply to the interpellation on the future guarantees (July 15). The government declared that it had called out the reserves and asked a vote authorizing mobilization. A committee, immediately appointed, listened to a statement by the minister of war, who declared himself ready; Gramont explained the insult and gave the committee to understand that Austria and Italy might be counted on for aid. The Chamber then voted the authorizations. The same day at Berlin, at the news of Gramont's declaration, the King ordered mobilization.

France declared war on the 19th of July.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

GERMAN ASCENDENCY AND THE ARMED PEACE.

War with France (1870-71).—France had declared war on Prussia alone. But Prussia had with her as allies outside of the North German Confederation, all the sovereign states of the South. For the first time Germany was fighting unitedly and without foreign aid against France.

England, after offering her mediation, declared her neutrality on July 19. The Tsar, personally related to the King of Prussia and desirous of ridding himself of the treaty of 1856, declared himself neutral, but at the same time made it known that he would intervene against Austria should she support France. With Austria and Italy the French government negotiated until the first defeats; it asked them to prepare for war without officially departing from their neutrality, giving out, meanwhile, that they were arming to prepare for mediation. In Austria, Beust wished to wait; Andrassy, the Hungarian prime minister, caused a decision to be made in favour of neutrality; but Beust did not dare announce it distinctly to the French government; he promised to arrange with Italy for a common mediation.* In Italy, Victor-Emmanuel wanted war, but the ministry felt it impossible

* His letter to the Austrian ambassador at Paris, July 20, contains one of those ambiguous sentences which conform to the traditions of European diplomacy: "Kindly repeat to the Emperor and his ministers that, faithful to the engagements we agreed to in the letters exchanged between the two sovereigns last year, we shall consider the cause of France our own and contribute to the success of her arms to the fullest extent of our power." After having explained that Austria was restrained by Russia, the Hungarians, and Austrian Germans, Beust added: "Under these circumstances, the word *neutrality*, which we pronounce not without regret, is imposed on us by imperious necessity. . . But this neutrality is only a means . . . toward the accomplishment of our policy, the only means whereby we can complete our armament and avoid exposing ourselves defenceless to a sudden attack." Gramont understood this to be a promise of assistance; it may refer to the agreement made by the three sovereigns in 1869, to conclude no treaty without giving each other notice of it, and may be only a vague promise of mediation.

considering the state of the army and the treasury. It did, nevertheless, negotiate with the French government, but the Roman question hindered any definite agreement. France was therefore left to face Germany alone.

The war was divided into two separate parts by the defeat of Sedan:

I. Both sides wished to take the offensive; mobilization was effected in a fortnight. The Germans, following a plan of campaign prepared in 1868 by von Moltke, intended to "search out the principal force of the enemy and attack it where they found it," on the Metz-Strasburg line. They made no attempt to defend Baden, but centred their forces in the Palatinate. They were divided into three armies, which, once complete, rose to almost 500,000 men. The First army, of 75,000 men, the Second, of over 200,000, marched on Metz by the Sarre, while the Third, of over 150,000 men, mainly from South Germany, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, marched on Strasburg.

The French wished to enter Germany by crossing the Rhine, probably below Rastadt, in such manner as to separate the South Germans from Prussia. They had two armies: the army of the Rhine, the chief army and headed by Napoleon III., on the border of Lorraine on the Sarre, and MacMahon's army in Alsace. But the active army, comprising 750,000 men on paper, in reality only had 250,000; the *garde mobile* of 600,000 men was not organized at all. Mobilization consisted in sending to the frontier regiments as they stood in time of peace, without even waiting to fill up their complement of men. The regiments had scarcely half of their full strength; the army of the Rhine had barely 110,000 men, that of MacMahon but 40,000. Napoleon III. had to give up any idea of offensive warfare. These armies, composed of veteran soldiers, brave and experienced, were ill-supplied with food, ammunition, and field-hospitals, and commanded by officers who had, in Algeria, grown accustomed to irregular warfare, without a definite plan of campaign, without knowledge of the strength and position of the enemy, without topographical knowledge of the territory, and even without maps (they had been given only maps of Germany). They marched slowly and in disorder, the different corps badly mixed together, exposed to sudden attack, without scouts, sometimes even without outposts. It had been almost the same in the Crimean War, but the enemy was then in the same condition. In 1870 the war was between a small army of the old professional kind and

a great, scientifically organized army of the most improved sort. The first campaign divided itself into three acts.

1. The Germans, taking the offensive, attacked both the army of the Rhine and that of Alsace simultaneously (August 6). The army of Alsace, crushed by the Third army at Froeschwiller-Reichshoffen, a confused battle entered upon unintentionally by the Bavarians, evacuated Alsace in disorder and retreated to Châlons. The army of the Rhine, attacked by the First army at Forbach-Spickeren, a height which the Prussians took by storm, fell back on Metz. The results were the abandonment of Alsace, where the Germans had now only to besiege Strasburg, the fall of the Ollivier ministry, the withdrawal of the troops from Rome, and an impression throughout Europe that France was irremediably defeated. Italy, which was still negotiating, decided to remain neutral. She had made a treaty of neutrality with Austria, but remained armed: in order to resist Napoleon's solicitations more easily, she concluded with England a treaty binding both to remain neutral.

2. The three German armies attacked the army of the Rhine, increased to over 150,000 men, and checked its progress by three series of battles, the most disastrous of the war: Borny, in the east, on August 14; Mars-la-Tour, in the southwest, on August 16; and Gravelotte, in the northwest, on August 18. Meanwhile the Second army had surrounded Metz and cut off its retreat. The result was to bottle up the principal French army, which was formed of picked soldiers and was the only body capable of checking the enemy's advance. The Germans left before Metz the First and Second armies joined in one (200,000 men), which shut in the French by a line of intrenchments. The Third German army marched on Châlons; a Fourth army of 75,000 men was left on the Meuse to cut off the French re-enforcements.

3. An army improvised at Châlons from the *débris* of the army of Alsace and re-enforcements of an inferior character, set out under MacMahon to relieve the Metz army. It advanced so slowly that it gave the Third army of Germans time to arrive; stopped by the army of the Meuse, then driven northward, it was surrounded at Sedan, and the whole army, with Napoleon himself, was forced to surrender (September 2). There was no longer a French army. Italy occupied Rome.

II. The second part of the war was longer and more complicated, but much less important from a military standpoint. France, invaded and deprived of her regular army, resisted to

save her honour. The new government of the National Defence improvised armies formed of remnants of regiments, sailors, marines, *mobiles;* it proclaimed a *levée en masse* of all men of twenty-one to forty years of age, and provided some of them with arms bought in England and the United States. This unforeseen resistance astonished the Germans.* But the outcome was never in doubt for a moment, in spite of French illusions. The war was reduced to the siege of Paris and attempts to deliver the city. It was divided into three acts.

1. The Third and Fourth German armies marched on Paris, while the Second blockaded the French army in Metz. The French government sent Thiers, on September 12, to search Europe for alliances. Public opinion, which had been unfavourable to Napoleon, had turned in favour of France against the invading Germans, who had suddenly become too strong; it was shown by manifestations of sympathy and private subscriptions; but no government dared to interfere. J. Favre, in a circular of September 6, announced as the condition of peace: "Not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses." At the Ferrières interview, on September 19 (see p. 188), Bismarck demanded Alsace; not even an armistice could be arranged. The Germans on the same day took the heights of Châtillon, which enabled them to bombard Paris from the south, and they invested the city. Bazaine, wishing to preserve the Metz army, made no serious attempt to force the blockade, but negotiated with the Germans (see p. 189), and was finally driven by famine to surrender his army, on October 27. On October 31 Russia declared that she no longer considered herself bound by the treaty of 1856 and resumed her liberty of action on the Black Sea. Thiers was sent to arrange a truce (October 31); Bismarck demanded Alsace and $600,000,000; the negotiation was broken off on December 5, when on the point of completion.†

2. The army of the Loire, formed at Orleans of more than 150,-

* There were, according to Freycinet, "La Guerre en Province," 1871, 230,000 infantry, 32,000 cavalry, 110,000 mobiles, 180,000 militiamen, 30,000 *franc-tireurs* (guerrillas), and 1400 cannon. See the estimate of these forces by a German officer, von der Goltz, "Léon Gambetta and his Armies," 1877.

† Different reasons are given for the rupture: the insurrection of October 31, which made the provisional government fear a revolt in case of a truce; Bismarck's new demands for securities to be taken against Paris, and King William's dissatisfaction over Gambetta's proclamation regarding Bazaine.

000 men, began, in October, to march on Paris, in spite of the advice of the general, who had no confidence in his improvised troops. It was quickly stopped by the Second German army, which had become disengaged by the taking of Metz, and after a three-days' battle (December 1-3) retreated behind the Loire in disorder. The army created at Paris, chiefly of *mobiles* and national guards, 300,000 in all, attempted to march southward to meet the army of the Loire, but was stopped and driven back to Paris (November 30-December 2).

3. A winter campaign in exceptional cold completed the destruction of the French army. The army of the Loire under Chanzy was attacked by the Second army, and withdrew to le Mans on December 16. The army of the East, under Bourbaki, composed of a part of the army of the Loire, was to march through Franche-Comté to Belfort and force the Germans to retire by threatening their communications in the rear. An army formed in the North under Faidherbe, was to march on Paris. The army of the Loire was put to rout at le Mans January 10-12, the army of the North at St. Quentin January 19; the army of the East, delayed by the cold weather, and stopped by a small but well-intrenched German force (Villersexel, January 9, and Héricourt, January 15-18), was surrounded and took refuge in Switzerland on February 1. Paris, bombarded since December 27, and out of provisions, made a fruitless sortie (Buzenval, January 10); then, on January 24, capitulated.

Treaties of London and Frankfort (1871).—Russia, in denouncing the treaty of 1856, had given just cause for war; England and Austria protested,* England even threatened. But not one of the powers that guaranteed the treaty was in a condition to make war. Bismarck proposed to settle the matter by a conference, in January, 1871. Russia acknowledged the principle that a power has not the right to discard a treaty; but this was only a concession of form. The London Conference annulled the articles that Russia had denounced and on March 13 drew up a new treaty restoring to Russia her freedom on the Black Sea. The Sultan, moreover, accepted this without remonstrance.

*According to the Crown Prince's Journal, King William was greatly displeased with the Russian circular, saying that it was beyond a joke and that he would never again give his hand to Gortschakoff, the author of "this piece of rascality" (ce coup de Jarnac). At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Gortschakoff told how anxious he had been, Russia having no army ready.

Negotiation between France and Germany was divided into three acts.

1. An *armistice* was arranged on January 28, to give time for the election of an assembly to discuss the terms of peace. The army of the East was not included in the truce.

2. The *preliminaries* concluded at Versailles, on February 26, between Bismarck and Thiers, settled the conditions of peace. Bismarck had demanded all of Alsace, including Belfort, a part of Lorraine, and 6,000,000,000 francs. Thiers, by his powers of insistence, retained Belfort and reduced the indemnity to 5,000,000,000 francs. The German army was to enter Paris and remain there until the acceptance of the terms.* The Assembly, by 546 votes against 107, promptly approved the treaty (March 1); the Germans had time to occupy only the Champs-Elysées.

3. Negotiation for the final treaty began at Brussels toward the end of March. The terms of payment for the indemnity, the purchase of railroads in the ceded districts, and commercial relations had still to be settled. The Germans demanded payment in coin, cession of the railroads without compensation, and restoration of the commercial treaties of 1862; no agreement could be made. The Commune arrested negotiations; the Germans remained neutral, but Bismarck spoke in the Reichstag of the necessity of keeping the army ready. Thiers was anxious, and resumed negotiations at Frankfort in May. The treaty of Frankfort of May 20 determined the new frontier, the mode of paying the war indemnity, and the date of German evacuation.

Bismarck consented to buy the railroads from the Eastern Company for 325,000,000 francs (he had at first offered 100,000,000), to accept a partial payment in securities, and renounce the commercial treaty of 1862; but he insisted that the tariff between the two nations should be lowered to the rate of the most favoured nation.†

New Conditions of European Policy since 1871.—The Franco-

*The King had consented not to urge the entrance of the Germans into Paris; Thiers secured Belfort in exchange for the entrance into Paris.

†This was called in France an "industrial Sedan." It was the preservation of the semi-free-trade which had been tried in Europe since 1860 and which France had given up. In reality, as it was impossible to impose by diplomatic means a restriction on the legislation of both countries, the treaty was confined to designating certain nations toward which equality of customs duties must be maintained.

Prussian war overturned European politics. It established the German Empire, that is to say, the unity of Germany under the military predominance of Prussia. It gave Germany an indisputable predominance in Europe. It destroyed the temporal power of the Pope and completed Italian unity. It ended the neutrality of the Black Sea and revived the Eastern question. It destroyed the Napoleonic Empire and established in France the first Republic that has endured. It deprived France of three departments (1000 square miles and more than 1,500,000 inhabitants) and created the *Alsace-Lorraine Question.*

In addition to this, it altered the ideas of European governments and peoples on foreign policy. Universal military service, adopted by all the great states on the continent, in imitation of Germany, has, by making the young men of wealthy families join the army, personally interested the members of the governments and parliaments in avoiding war. The new system of war, with its enormous masses of troops, its invasions, requisitions, complete cessation of business, and new destructive machines, has made war so formidable that all nations wish to avoid it, and so odious that no statesman dares to take the responsibility of beginning it. The representative assemblies, which have become at once more powerful and more democratic, have taken more account of the desires of the peace-loving mass of the nation and have put more pressure on the governments to keep them from war.

The personal will of sovereigns and ministers, which in the preceding period determined the wars, has been paralyzed by public sentiment. The influence of statesmen, although considerable in a number of cases since 1871 (Bismarck, Andrassy, Gortschakoff, Disraeli, and Gladstone), has become less decisive on the outcome of events. It is only in the East, in the countries which have remained outside of the conditions of modern life, with absolute sovereigns and ill-trained armies, that wars and the full sway of diplomatists continue: the international politics of Europe since 1871 has centred in the Balkan Peninsula and its neighbourhood. In civilized Europe, diplomacy, deprived of its only effective means of action, recourse to war, is reduced to a game of demonstrations of sympathy or antipathy. Diplomatists continue to make alliances, though deprived of the military sanction; newspapers still gather sensational news from the diplomatic world; the public is kept in continual anxiety; but no great event has come from it.

The German invasion transformed the French idea of war:

they saw it no longer as an "expedition," but an "invasion." The representatives who direct foreign policy know that *in no case* would the great majority of their electors approve an offensive war.

But the treaty of Frankfort, by annexing to Germany Alsace-Lorraine, against the obvious wishes of the inhabitants, created a new question in Europe. In the minds of Frenchmen it presented itself, confused at first, under the popular form of *revenge*. This was the old idea that war is a duel between two nations, in which the vanquished must redeem his honour. This formula gave Germany and possibly Europe the impression that the French protestations against the treaty of Frankfort arose from the same feelings that had prompted the former hatred of the treaties of 1815. It is true that in 1815 only national pride was affected, while the annexation of the people of Alsace-Lorraine *against their will* gave rise to a question of political *justice*. It violated the fundamental principle of democracy. It was impossible for the French to recognise the treaty of Frankfort as legitimate, since it was contrary to the rights of the annexed people. But this watchword of revenge, coupled with a program for the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine, gave the movement the appearance of a simple territorial claim, founded on national rivalry alone. Even to-day France has not yet learned to let the question rest on the rational ground of the rights of the people. France's representatives, though anxious to maintain peace, have never been able to declare that Frenchmen accept the treaty of 1871, nor to make the real ground of their refusal understood. One point only has been made clear to Europe, which is that France, having become irreconcilably Germany's enemy, is only awaiting an occasion to make war upon her, a policy expressed later by Gambetta's motto: "Think of it always and never speak of it."

As after 1815, European policy has consisted chiefly in maintaining France in peace. Like Austria in 1815, Germany has undertaken this charge. Having nothing further to ask, being, like Austria before, "saturated" (Metternich's expression, revived by Bismarck), she has endeavoured to maintain the *status quo*—that is to say, her own conquests and predominance. But Austria, with her military weakness, had quickly lost her predominance; Germany, with the strongest army in Europe, has kept hers.

The Alliance of the Three Emperors (1871-76).—Bismarck's

aggressive policy in 1864 and 1866, and the annexations of 1864 and 1866, all founded on the right of conquest, had given Europe the impression that Germany was intending, like Napoleon in former years, to use the incontestable superiority of her army to continue her annexations; the conquest of the Germanic countries was next expected, the Netherlands, the German states of Austria, and German Switzerland. The Emperor had announced in a proclamation on January 18, and in a speech from the throne on May 21, that Germany, henceforth united and strong, would strive only to maintain peace in Europe; but these statements were distrusted. For a number of years, the little states neighbouring the Empire, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and Denmark, were in constant anxiety through distrust of the Germans. In actual fact, the German government has since 1871 made neither war nor conquest, nor deserted its peaceful policy.

The other powers recognised German predominance, and the other governments approached Germany with demonstrations of good will and desire for peace. Austria was the first; the creation of the Empire having destroyed all her hopes of ever resuming the first place in Germany, she directed her efforts henceforth toward the Orient (according to Bismarck's advice in 1862), and on this side she needed Germany to counterbalance Russia. The good feeling between Austria and Germany, which has lasted ever since, was shown in 1871 by a series of indications: Beust's address in July to the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations on Austria's friendship with Germany and Italy, which would make central Europe the bulwark of peace,—the Gastein interview between Bismarck and Beust in August,—and the interview between the two Emperors at Salzburg in September. It was consolidated by the fall of Beust in December, 1871 (see p. 538), and the succession to the department of foreign affairs of Andrassy, a Hungarian representative and natural ally of Germany against the Slavs.

In Russia, public opinion, in the Slavic nationalist party and in the official world, was already beginning to manifest itself against Germany. The Tsar, a personal friend of Emperor William, tried to preserve the friendly relations begun in 1863 during the struggle against the Poles. He showed his feelings in a toast to the Emperor in which he recalled the fraternal feeling between the German and Russian armies and the friendship

between the two sovereigns, "the best guarantee for the peace and order of Europe" (December 8, 1871).

Italy, disturbed by the demonstrations of the Catholic party in France for the restoration of the temporal power, began to make overtures to Germany. The movement was emphasized by the visit of the Crown Prince Humbert to the Emperor at Berlin in May, 1872.

The understanding between the powers was shown by the interview between the three Emperors and their ministers at Berlin in September, 1872. Bismarck explained the significance of it: "Europe recognised the German Empire as the bulwark of general peace." This is what was improperly termed "the alliance between the three Emperors"; no treaty was concluded. Other interviews followed: at the Vienna Exposition in 1873,—at Petersburg in 1874,—at Ischl, in the mountains of Austria, in 1874-75,—at Salzburg in 1876,—and in Bohemia in 1875-76. The King of Italy visited Vienna and Berlin in 1873; the two Emperors returned his visit in 1875, but did not go to Rome on account of the Pope; courteous relations were maintained on all sides.

England and France remained outside, isolated in the face of the monarchies of the Centre and East. This peaceful state of affairs lasted until the Eastern troubles in 1876, without other incident * than the rumours of war between France and Germany in April and May, 1875, whose exact history is not known.†

* I do not count the intervention of a German cruiser in the Civil War at Carthegena in 1873, nor the conflict between Germany and Belgium over the declarations of Belgian bishops against Bismarck in 1875.

† These are the undisputed facts. The National Assembly had just voted a law on the organization of the army. The German chief of staff, von Moltke, declared that this law could only mean that France was preparing for another war. The German government instructed its ambassador at Paris, Hohenlohe, to ask an explanation; Hohenlohe presented himself before Decazes, minister of foreign affairs, and said to him: "I am charged by my government to inform you that it regards your armament as a threatening action; will you take note of this?" Decazes refused to take any action, declaring the suspicions unjust. A German semi-official publication, the *Post*, published an article, "War in sight," which discussed the chances of war. About the same time Radowitz went on a special mission from Germany to the Tsar. The rumour spread through the whole diplomatic world of Europe that France was threatened with war; Decazes asked help from Orloff, the Russian ambassador, and declared that if the French were attacked they would retreat behind the Loire. An article in the *Times* said that the Prussian military party

Eastern Affairs (1875-76).—After France's defeat, Russia had gained a ruling influence over the Turkish government. She secured the creation of a *Bulgarian Exarchy* which removed the religious direction of the Orthodox Bulgarians from the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople in order to give it to a Slavic prelate, a *protégé* of Russia. The Slavic nationalist party in Russia founded a Society for the Deliverance of the Slavs, directed by a central committee and sub-committees. This society excited the Christian Slavs in Bosnia and Bulgaria and worked in communication with Russian consular agents.*

The Orthodox Servians of Herzegovina finally revolted, in July, 1875, which reopened the Eastern question. Andrassy's note (see p. 631) enumerated the guarantees to be demanded of the Turks in order to restore peace; the note was not in collective form for fear of offending the Sultan.

But the insurgents demanded reforms which the Porte re-

wished to declare war, march on Paris, and claim new millions. In Russia, Chancellor Gortschakoff, informed of this by the French ambassador Leflô, replied: "Be strong! You are too rich not to excite envy." Leflô obtained an audience of the Tsar, told him of his fears, and asked if he would shield France with his sword. The Tsar replied that his word would be enough, that he would go to Berlin and there express his wish for the maintenance of peace. On May 11 the Tsar saw the Emperor at Berlin, and the rumours of war ceased at once. Some time after, Emperor William said to the French ambassador that the rumours of war had arisen from manœuvres on the Stock Exchange; and to the French military attaché he said: "It was a plot to make trouble between us." Bismarck, in the Reichstag in February, 1886, declared that the papers busied themselves too much with foreign affairs.

These facts have been given two interpretations. Gortschakoff let it be understood, and Ambassador Gontaut-Biron said, that Prussia had decided on war, and sent Radowitz to sound the Tsar's opinion; also that had it not been for the Tsar's intervention Prussia would have attacked France. This opinion seems to have been that of most European diplomatists. Bismarck, on the other hand, has declared that neither he nor the Emperor desired war, which would have been "a colossal piece of stupidity"; that this whole incident was a plot between Gortschakoff and Gontaut-Biron, both his personal enemies, to annoy him and to set themselves up as guardians of peace; that they had made use of Radowitz' mission and the Tsar's visit to Berlin, which Gortschakoff knew beforehand, to make people believe there had been a design of war on foot and that the Tsar had arrested it.

*This secret action was revealed by letters which the Turkish government procured in 1872, and published in 1877, with the suppression of proper names. It is a matter of opinion, whether the Russian agents worked by order of their government or without its knowledge.

fused; they then drove back the Turkish army with the aid of the Montenegrins (April, 1876). The Sultan, threatened by Russia, dared not declare war on Montenegro; but he sent an army to the frontier. The Prince of Montenegro openly declared war. Then animosity against the Turks grew so strong that the war party got possession of the power in Servia and Roumania and the Bulgarians revolted. Meanwhile the assassination of the German and French consuls by the Mussulmans at Salonica obliged the powers to intervene. The concert of Europe was counted on to force the Porte to grant reforms that would put an end to the trouble. But the Disraeli ministry, resuming the traditional English policy of defending the Ottoman Empire against Russia, refused to be bound by the Berlin Memorandum, in which the other powers concurred. England sent her fleet independently to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, giving the Turks the impression that she was supporting them.

Servia declared war; small Servian armies, composed of militiamen, entered Turkish territory in July; they were quickly thrown back into Servia. The Tsar, the declared protector of Servia, had Russian volunteers enrolled and spoke publicly of a war "perhaps near at hand"; finally, in November, he demanded of the Turks a truce of two months. Then, Disraeli having made a threatening speech in England, the Tsar began to mobilize his army (November). He nevertheless got England to agree to a conference at Constantinople, formed of the ambassadors of the six powers; a plan of reforms was drawn up, but the Turkish government refused to accept it.

The powers recalled their ambassadors in January, 1877, and Russia succeeded in persuading the other powers to sign the London protocol, by which she promised to disarm if the Sultan would agree to make the promised reforms (see p. 632). The Porte having refused this protocol, Russia announced that, all the reform projects having received an unqualified rejection from the Porte, her interests forced her to put an end to the disturbances. Alexander II., in spite of his desire for peace, had finally yielded to the nationalist party, which, under Aksakoff, had for two years been conducting a press campaign to induce the government to go to the aid of their Slavic brethren oppressed by Turkey.

The Turkish War (1877-78).—All the European powers declared neutrality; England protested in the name of the treaties, but added that she would not interfere unless to protect her

own interests, the Suez Canal, Constantinople, and the Dardanelles.

Russia, besides Montenegro, which was still at war, had as an ally Roumania. This nominally Turkish principality having failed to obtain Turkey's consent to neutrality, preferred to join hands with Russia, and offered her the right of passage for her army on condition that Russia should guarantee her territorial integrity.

The war consisted of four operations.

1. The Russian army entered Roumania in April and slowly crossed the Danube in May and June, in spite of the Turkish fleet; it made use of the Roumanian supplies, but refused the help of her army.

2. The Russian army invaded Bulgaria, and, leaving the quadrilateral of Turkish fortresses, marched on the Balkans; the advance guard, under Gourko, surprised and took the Shipka pass, tried to descend on the other side and was driven back, but retained possession of the pass. The Turkish army intrenched itself in Plevna, at the intersection of the principal highroads of Bulgaria, and repulsed two attacks (July). The Russian army saw itself compelled to conduct a regular siege, and asked the aid of the Roumanian army.

3. The siege of Plevna was long and bloody (September-December). The Turkish soldiers, mainly Albanians, having got rid of their officers and divided themselves into small groups, sheltered by intrenchments, with good Martini and Snyder guns and unlimited cartridges from the Plevna arsenal, defended themselves with stubborn courage and killed many of the enemy (16,000 Russians, 5000 Roumanians). The Russian army was poorly supplied and had no intrenching tools. They had to wait for re-enforcements to surround the place; they finally inclosed it in October, in order to starve it into surrender. A Turkish army came to relieve the place, but was beaten off. The famished Plevna army issued from its intrenchments, made an attack, was surrounded, and capitulated on December 10. Servia, which had long been armed, declared war anew.

4. The Russian army, in spite of snow and cold, crossed the Balkans, forced the passes, surrounded and captured a Turkish army in the mountains, then descended through the valley of the Maritza upon Philipopolis, where it put the last Turkish army to flight, January 14 to 17, 1878. The Russians then marched to Adrianople.

Peace of San Stefano and Congress of Berlin (1878).—The Sultan, left without an army, sent a request for peace, declaring himself at the mercy of the Tsar's generosity; Russia set forth her conditions in the Adrianople protocol, on January 31: independence and enlargement of Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, a principality of Bulgaria, and autonomy for Bosnia. England was disturbed and prepared her fleet (January 28), then sent her vessels into the Dardanelles against the Sultan's wishes. Russia replied to this demonstration by declaring that she considered herself free to occupy Constantinople (February). A provisional agreement prevented a conflict. As the Turkish government was trying to prolong negotiations, Grand-Duke Nicholas transferred his headquarters to San Stefano; there the Russian plenipotentiary, Ignatieff, communicated his ultimatum. The *preliminaries* of San Stefano, March 3, 1878, concluded the peace on the bases of the protocol of January 31 (see p. 633).

Russia had worked exclusively in the interests of her Slavic *protégés*. The English government replied with warlike demonstrations, but hesitated to engage in a conflict in which no other power would follow her. Russia was exhausted and wanted peace. The Russian and English governments finally agreed on the questions to be discussed in a European congress. To counterbalance Russia's acquisitions in Asia, England concluded a secret treaty with the Sultan on June 4, promising, if the Russian annexations should be maintained, to defend Asia Minor; the Sultan in return promised reforms in those countries and authorized England to occupy Cyprus.

The Congress of Berlin, composed of the ministers and ambassadors of the six great powers (Russia, Germany, Austria, England, France, and Italy), and of the Sultan, met in June, 1878, under the presidency of Bismarck. It showed Germany's predominance in Europe. Bismarck had declared that he would accept the rôle, not of arbiter, but of an " honest courtier " to aid in the restoration of peace.

The congress settled all the questions that had been brought up in the Ottoman Empire by insurrections and wars. All the powers were agreed on Austria's occupation of Bosnia, and imposed it on the Turks. Their disagreements arose concerning Bulgaria, Asia Minor, and the Danube. In the case of Bulgaria, the powers obliged Russia to yield (see p. 665). England protested, as a matter of form, against Russia's annexations in Asia Minor, and took the opportunity to publish the secret treaty

which gave her Cyprus. On the Danube question, Austria compelled Russia to accept neutralization and the destruction of fortresses.

The congress also discussed the case of Greece and forced Servia and Roumania to grant political equality to the Jews.

Formation of the Triple Alliance (1879-83).—The settlement of the Eastern question at Berlin had broken the understanding between the Empires. Gortschakoff could not forgive Bismarck for not having supported Russia's demands. Austria, mistress of Bosnia, endeavoured to increase her influence with the Christians of the Balkan Peninsula and to open for herself a commercial route through Salonica. These objects brought her into competition with Russia. The discord was marked by articles against Germany in the Russian papers and Russian military activity on the Austrian frontier. Bismarck approached Austria more closely to support her against Russia in the East. Austria concluded secretly with the German Empire, in October, 1879, "an alliance for peace and mutual defence," designed especially in case of an "attack on either by Russia"; for in the case of an attack by any other power, the states promised each other only a friendly neutrality, unless the aggressor should be supported by Russia.

Alexander's personal friendship for William kept up the official appearance of harmony; there were still interviews between the Emperors in 1879, and in March, 1880, a toast was proposed by Alexander "to his best friend, William." But the Russian government was making military preparations in Poland as if for a Western war. It allowed the newspapers to agitate in favour of France and against Germany. The idea of an understanding between France and Russia, which had been suggested several times prior to 1830 (by Napoleon, Richelieu, and Polignac), but had been abandoned for half a century because of the indignation caused by Russian policy in Poland, began to be talked of once more. France was eager to find an ally against Germany, and Russia was irritated by German predominance. An alliance was proposed in an interview with Gortschakoff by a French journalist (of the *Soleil*) in September, 1879; later the same idea appears in Gambetta's declarations and in the speeches of the Russian general, Skobeleff, in 1882.

The Eastern question had destroyed the understanding between the Eastern monarchies and prepared a new grouping. Colonial policy completed this evolution. France, abandoning

her "policy of recollection," sought new conquests in Asia and Africa. She thus put herself in conflict with Italy. Italy since 1870 had been hesitating between distrust of France, which she suspected of wishing to restore the temporal power, and hostility to Austria, which controlled the Italian Tyrol and Trieste. She pursued the "policy of free hands," avoiding all engagements in order to keep herself free to seize any opportunities that might arise. After the triumph of the French Republicans in 1877 she was inclined to approach France and support the *Irredentists*. The conquest of Tunis suddenly changed her attitude; she broke with France, renounced *irredentism*, and approached Austria; the King paid a visit to the Emperor in October, 1881.

England, on the succession of the Liberal ministry in 1880, changed her Eastern policy. Gladstone, who openly hated the Turks, sided with Montenegro and Greece (see pp. 663 and 634).

The death of Alexander II., in 1881, completed the destruction of the understanding between the three Emperors. Alexander III. was personally hostile to German influence. But being determined to maintain peace above everything, he took a peaceful minister of foreign affairs, de Giers (1882), and continued the traditional interviews between the Emperors; in Germany in 1881 and 1884, and in Austria in 1885.

The Italian government, probably to consolidate the monarchy, asked to be admitted to the defensive alliance between Germany and Austria. Thus was concluded, in 1883, the *Triple Alliance*, designed to maintain peace by a coalition of three European powers against the supposed warlike designs of France and Russia. French opinion would put no faith in the purely defensive and consequently peaceful character of the Triple Alliance. France steadily regarded it as a threat of war.

Formation of the Franco-Russian Understanding.—The Triple Alliance at first seemed to be a centre for all the monarchical states: the Kings of Roumania, Servia, and Spain looked to Germany. England, contesting with France for Egypt and Indo-China and with Russia for Afghanistan, made advances to Italy. Even the Tsar, in his desire to maintain peace in Afghanistan, concluded a secret convention* by which Russia and Germany mutually promised a friendly neutrality in case one or the other

*This was not known until October, 1896, when Bismarck's semi-official journal gave the sense, but not the text; it seems to have had a war with England in view.

should be attacked. This was agreed on at an interview between the three Emperors at Skiernevice, in September, 1884. France, isolated and busy with her colonial enterprises, resigned herself to making terms with Germany for the regulation of African affairs (Conference of Berlin, 1884-85).

Once again it was the Eastern question that brought a change in European politics. The Roumelian revolution in 1885 (see p. 667) obliged the powers to take sides. They all began by declaring void the union with Bulgaria, as contrary to the treaty of 1878. But Austria finally protected Bulgaria. Bismarck, without officially recognising Ferdinand, refused to interfere actively in an affair which did not interest Germany. (He said that it was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier.)

Alexander III., who had become hostile to the Bulgarians, was annoyed at the action of Germany and Austria. Russian opinion used the opportunity to show its hatred of Germany (1886-87).* This agitation coincided with the agitation caused in France by certain incidents on the German frontier † and the campaign of the *League of Patriots*. In both countries war with Germany and an alliance began to be talked of, in 1887. Bismarck replied to these demonstrations, whose practical significance might be a matter for discussion, by publishing in February, 1888, the treaty of alliance made with Austria in 1879 and by increasing Germany's active army. There was no rupture with Russia, as had been expected, for the treaty of neutrality of 1884 lasted until 1890. But the German creditors got rid of Russian government bonds, and the impression got abroad that the Triple Alliance was growing stronger, while France and Russia held aloof from each other. Boulanger's defeat calmed the agitation in France. Alexander III. held to his policy of peace and confined himself to the expression of his dissatisfaction by the toast to the Prince of Montenegro in 1889, "To Russia's only sincere and faithful friend." But after the fall of Bismarck

* Katkoff's articles against Bismarck in 1886; declarations against Austria by the Russian superior officers (in the *Daily News*);—interview with Ignatieff by a Servian journalist;—Prince Nicholas' toast at Dunkirk in October, 1887.

† Arrest of a French commissary of police, Schnæbelé, on the Frontier in April, 1887; the German government released him. The motive of the arrest has never been made clear.—The Raon incident, in September, 1887: a hunter killed on French territory by a German soldier; Germany paid an indemnity.

the German government refused to renew the treaty with Russia, which expired in 1890,* and displeased the Tsar by effecting a reconciliation with the Poles in Posen (see p. 506).

England, directed since 1886 by Salisbury's conservative ministry, inclined toward the monarchies of the Triple Alliance. This harmony was marked by the cession to the German Empire of the little German island of Heligoland, which had been held by England since the days of the Continental Blockade. This was a tribute to national feelings which Germany requited by concessions in eastern Africa in 1890.†

But the Tsar had finally decided to make open advances to France. He showed this by public acts. A French squadron sent into the Baltic was solemnly received at Kronstadt; the Tsar ordered the *Marseillaise* to be played, and listened to it standing. He sent the President of the Republic a telegram in which he spoke of the "profound sympathies that unite France and Russia" (July, 1891). A Russian loan was opened in France and covered by French subscribers. The visit which the Tsar was to make to the Emperor of Germany was delayed and reduced to his passing a few hours in Kiel, on his return from a stay in Denmark (June, 1892). A Russian squadron came in October, 1893, to Toulon, whence it sent a detachment to Paris; it was received with much celebration and honour. The Tsar and the President exchanged telegrams; the Tsar spoke of the "bonds that unite the two countries." French opinion assumed that Russia and France were united by a formal alliance. In any case it was evident that there existed at least a Franco-Russian understanding; the exact nature of this understanding remained a secret. England replied with a demonstration of friendship for Italy; an English squadron visited Italy in 1893.

European policy was henceforth dominated by stubborn opposition between the Triple Alliance of central Europe and the Franco-Russian league. Both having the same declared object, the maintenance of peace, their opposition has produced the

* This change in policy is known only through the revelations made in October, 1896, by the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, which attributes it to the influence of England, which was supposed to have been threatened by the treaty of 1884.

† The International Conference for the study of legislation for the protection of the labouring men, proposed by Switzerland in 1889, and at Emperor William's request held at Berlin under his own presidency, produced no practical result (March, 1890).

same practical effect as a general understanding. But Russia, certain of France's support in any case, has acquired a sort of predominance in the affairs of the East and the extreme East. After the Chinese war, she intervened with France, drawing in Germany, which did not wish to be left alone, to force Japan to make peace.

When the Eastern question was reopened by the Armenian massacres, Russia and England seemed to have exchanged their traditional attitudes. England proposed that Europe should intervene to impose on the Sultan certain reforms in favour of his Christian subjects; and it was Russia that took the Sultan's part against intervention and reforms.* With France's support, Russia paralyzed England. Austria and Germany, to avoid complications in the East, adhered to Russia's policy; and the European concert of 1895-96 took no effective step in the Sultan's affairs. Russia, having regained her influence in Bulgaria (see p. 669) and shut out European intervention from the Ottoman Empire, seems to have resumed her sway in the Balkan Peninsula. She has consolidated the Franco-Russian understanding by Nicholas' visit to Paris in October, 1896, which gave the impression of a complete alliance between the two countries. German predominance in the West is counterbalanced by Russia's predominance in the East; this is the new form of European balance of power.

Armed Peace.—Since the completion of German and Italian unity within a quarter of a century, there has been in all Europe—except the semi-barbaric Balkan countries—no war, either large or small. It is the first time that Europe has lived through so long a period of absolute peace. But this peace covers a permanent hostility. Between Germany and France there is conflict over the Alsace-Lorraine question, which is still confused in French minds, but is produced by an irreconcilable opposition between two conflicting conceptions of right: sovereignty of the government by right of conquest, the principle of the German monarchy; sovereignty of the people, whence arises the right of every population to determine its nationality, the principle of the French democracy. Between Austria and Russia it is the old conflict over the Eastern question, under the form of a struggle for influence in the Balkan countries.

The fear of war, which has become much more horrible than

* This policy is explained by a remark attributed to the Russian ambassador: "We do not wish to have Armenia made a second Bulgaria."

in former times, acts as a check on hostile feelings. All the nations have conceived such a horror of war that the governments no longer dare even to use a threat of it to carry out their policy. All are agreed to adopt, as the fundamental rule of their policy, the maintenance of peace.

But these unanimous expressions of desire for peace are not enough to reassure the public mind; for fifteen years it has been announced that there must be war the next spring. National distrust is so deep rooted that each people refuses to trust its neighbour's sincerity and takes its protestations of peace as a manœuvre designed to quiet the suspicions of some nation about to be attacked. Now in modern warfare mobilization is so rapid, and the advantage of the offensive so decisive, that, to have a chance to resist, each country must hold itself always ready for war.* The rapid progress in the art of warfare obliges each state, in order to keep up with the rest, to make over her war material often and increase the number of her soldiers. The effective force of armies in time of peace is to-day equal to the former effective force in time of war. The account of Europe's military expenditure has often been made out; but as yet no one is able to estimate the deficit in production caused by the time lost in military service. The economic danger to Europe has often been pointed out, in competition with America and Asia, which are exempt from these charges. An International Peace League has proposed that the nations shall disarm, and make war impossible by accepting the principle of arbitration between states. This campaign has produced no effect on the governments except in America and Norway. In Europe it encounters mutual distrust of the nations and the difficulty pointed out by Bismarck in 1870, of securing an effective disarmament with the short-term system of military service. No government has accepted the solution proposed by the French Republicans of 1867, to shorten the service to a period sufficient to make the army a national militia as in Switzerland. The German reform of two-year service for infantry (see p. 509), which seemed a step in this direction, was only an expedient to increase the effective force in case of war. Europe lives in peace, but it is armed peace, peace with the burdens of war, and without security.

* Bismarck clearly explained this situation in two addresses to the Reichstag on the military law (January 11, 1887; February 6, 1888).

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CONCLUSION.

POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF EUROPE.

THE nineteenth century has brought all the nations of Europe more profound and more rapid changes than any other period in the history of the world. Every state has since 1814 changed its political or social organization. In almost all* this evolution has been accompanied, if not produced, by revolutions and civil wars, and in several by nationalist wars. The nineteenth century has been a time of internal revolutions. On the other hand, compared to preceding centuries it has been a time of European peace;—forty years, 1814 to 1854, without a great war,—a quarter of a century, since 1870, without any war except in the East; between the two, only fifteen years of great wars, 1854-70.† These revolutions and wars were very unevenly distributed. Almost all have concentrated themselves upon short periods of agitation, 1820-23, 1830-35, 1847-50, 1859-70, separated by longer periods of calm.

Contemporary history begins with a general reaction against revolutionary France and Napoleon, the restitution of the territory they had conquered and the restoration of the governments they had destroyed. All over Europe the political power was restored to the hereditary sovereigns, supported by the aristocracy. In almost all the states the Prince and his ministers governed as absolute masters, without a constitution, without a representative assembly, without control. Certain states (England, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, South German States, Sweden, Norway, Poland, and Hungary), had an elective representation, based on property, with guarantees against arbitrary rule; but everywhere, even in England, the assembly was practically subordinated to the ministers.

The prevailing system of Continental Europe in 1814 was, as in the eighteenth century, the personal government of the

*The only states that have not had revolutions are England, Russia, and Sweden.

† There remain outside of these periods only Eastern wars: 1828, 1854, 1877, almost foreign to the general evolution of Europe.

Prince, aided by his officials; some southern countries had even the rule of the *camarilla.* The landed aristocracy, which was still richer than the rising industrial aristocracy, held its economic power, social supremacy, influence with the sovereign, and, in the countries with assemblies, the electoral power; it shared the direction of the nation with the officials. The army, recruited by voluntary enlistment or compulsory draft, was not a national force, but a controlling instrument at the service of the sovereign. The clergy, subordinated to the lay power, had lost, except in the southern countries, its former ecclesiastical power; it had become everywhere a body of state office-holders.

This system was upheld by a coalition of all the bodies in possession of power. An official alliance obliged the governments of all the great states to maintain the settlements of territory made in 1815; the Austrian government, through Metternich's influence, directed the common policy and sought to extend the guarantee of the *status quo* to the domestic system of all the states, so as to prevent any political change in Europe. In each country a tacit coalition between the sovereign, the office-holders, the aristocracy, the clergy, and the army laboured to maintain the political system.

In the face of this all-powerful coalition, the opposition forces included only the middle class (few in numbers and often dependent), the people of certain large cities, the youth in the schools, a number of journalists, and in countries subjected to dismemberment or to foreign rule, the nationalist patriots. These malcontents, without means of political influence, material force, or even common leadership, seemed powerless against the great weight of conservative forces. In every country, the mass of the nation, the peasants and the lower middle class, were inert and unaccustomed to political life in any form; they added no force to the opposition.

This apparently firm system did not, however, endure a half-century. This was because the revolutionary period had not left merely memories and regrets; it had formed a militant staff of agitators which, grouping the malcontents of every description into liberal and nationalist parties, conducted a perpetual warfare against the work of the Restoration. Their means were violent: plots, city riots, military revolts, and nationalist insurrections. The governments replied with prosecutions, condemnations, executions, and a system of political persecution—intermittent in France and central Europe, continuous in the

South. But they opposed to their adversaries only small and poorly equipped armies and a clumsy police. The revolutionists also profited by the discord between the defenders of established order, hereditary nobles and upper middle class, clergy and office-holders, army officers and court, and especially national hatreds and rivalry between states.

Everywhere the struggle was over the same fundamental questions of political life: to what organ the sovereign power belonged *by right*, what set of men should exercise it *in fact?* This is why party division has seemed the same in all civilized countries. Excluding the nationalist parties and omitting the personal coteries and special groups, there remained four great parties, constituted everywhere on almost the same plan and with the same programs:

1. The *absolutist* conservative party, formed by the high officials and landed aristocracy, desired to maintain absolute government, clerical authority, and censorship of the press; it controlled all the central, eastern, and southern states of Europe. It no longer existed in England; the former absolutist party, the *Jacobites*, had not survived a century of political liberty.* It never existed in the Netherlands or in Sweden and Norway; in France it was never alone in power.

2. The liberal conservative or *constitutional* party, Tory and Right Centre, composed of the upper middle class and the liberal office-holders, demanded that the assembly should control the administration of the government, particularly in financial matters. Its ideal was personal government by the sovereign with a parliament of two houses, one aristocratic, the other elective; an electoral body limited by a considerable property qualification; the parliament to vote the annual budget, but to leave the Prince free in the choice of his ministers and in the direction of general policy; no censorship, but a liberty of the press restricted to the wealthy classes; the nation's rights guaranteed by a constitution. This party was in power in the constitutional states; in the absolute monarchies it demanded a constitution, a representative assembly, and abolition of censorship.

3. The *parliamentary* liberal party, Whig and Left Centre, recruited in the middle class, demanded not only control for the elected assembly, but its supremacy over the sovereign, the min-

*This is one cause of the peaceful character of England's evolution and of the small number of parties (improperly called classification into two parties).

isters, and the aristocratic chamber. Its ideal was the parliamentary system, a ministry chosen from the party in majority in the house, governing in the Prince's name, but according to the will of the elective representatives of the nation; a constitution recognising the superior rights or sovereignty of the people, political liberties (press, public meeting, and association), and absolute religious liberty. As a material guarantee, it demanded, on the continent, a national guard, that is, an armed middle class, to defend its political rights. It would admit only property-owners to the vote, but tended to lower the qualification in order to admit to the voting body the lower middle classs. This party, shut out of power by the Restoration, did not begin to gain it until 1830.

4. The democratic or radical party, formed by students, workingmen, writers, and lawyers, demanded, according to the motto of the French Revolution, sovereignty and political equality of the people. It added to the demands of the parliamentary party universal suffrage and pay for representatives, abolition of all political privileges for the wealthy classes, and separation of Church and state. Its ideal was a purely representative democratic and preferably republican government like that of the French Convention, or even a direct government in which the people should make the constitution. In 1815 this party, so far from being in power in any country, had not even the right to formulate its program publicly except in England, Sweden, and Norway.

The two extreme parties, absolutist and democratic, had the two diametrically opposite conceptions of government and society. The absolutists wanted a society based on *hereditary inequality*, a government based on the *absolute sovereignty of the Prince*, all authority concentrated in a personal sovereign and *descending* by delegation, with *compulsory religion*. The democrats admitted neither political heredity nor ecclesiastical authority; they demanded social *equality*, authority *ascending* by delegation of citizens, a purely lay state, and *sovereignty of the people*. A country might, however, pass from one of these extremes to the other by gradual evolution, for the four parties formed a continuous gradation. The absolutist system became constitutional when the Prince consented to grant a constitution, as in the German states from 1816 to 1819. The constitutional system was insensibly transformed into the parliamentary system, as the sovereign took more account of the wishes of the elective chamber,

as in England after 1830. The parliamentary system became democratic with the extension of suffrage and the assembly's acquisition of an irresistible supremacy over all the other powers, as in Switzerland. Now, the enlargement of the electoral body was to be made by a series of transitions; the transition of the "sovereignty of the prince" into that of the people, inconceivable in theory, was to be accomplished by slow increase in parliamentary influence, which imperceptibly transformed its controlling influence into absolute rule. It is by this evolution that the word *control* has come to mean *rule*.

This gradation has made possible coalitions between neighbouring parties. The natural tendency of parties was to join forces against the party in power: the absolutist system was opposed by the coalition of the three liberal parties; the constitutional system by the coalition of parliamentarians and democrats. The instinctive policy of the extreme parties was to take shelter behind the nearest government party, in order to advance a step together. The French liberals cried: "Long live the Charter!" the English radicals supported Whig reforms, the German and Italian democrats demanded constitutions. The opposition was always, even in England, rather a coalition than a coherent party.

England and France, provided with a constitution, a parliament, and a political press, were model states to the liberals and furnished the doctrines for all Europe. The struggle against the governments began in England with the Radicals' unsuccessful reform campaign, 1816-19; in France, after 1816, with the cry for electoral reform, and in Germany with the university movements. Later it took the form of armed revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sardinia, in the name of sovereignty of the people. The allied governments crushed these armed revolutions in short wars, and used the opportunity to formulate the doctrine of intervention against revolution (1820-23).

The absolutists' triumph was short-lived. The alliance between the governments, shaken by conflicts over the questions left unsettled in 1815,—namely, Spanish colonies and the Ottoman Empire,—was broken up by the revolution of 1830. This revolution was the work of the small democratic republican party in Paris, which took advantage of the parliamentary conflict with Charles X. to rise in insurrection. The movement of 1830 set up in France the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, a

parliamentary system controlled by the property owners, the political power of the national guard, and liberty of the press. A parallel but peaceful evolution established in England, by the Reform Bill of 1832, the full-blown parliamentary system, a truly representative house and an extended suffrage. The French and English system, which had become the ideal of the parliamentary parties in other countries, was introduced into Belgium in 1831 by a nationalist revolution, aided by the governments of France and England. A parallel movement in Switzerland overturned the defenceless Conservative ruling class, and gave the democratic representative system to the great "regenerated" cantons.

In Italy the movement was a failure. In eastern Europe it led to the destruction of the Polish nation and its constitutional system. In France the democratic party, in its endeavour to renew the revolution, was destroyed by its former ally, the parliamentary party. In the Iberian countries, two successive quarrels over the succession ended in introducing constitutional forms and parties copied from other countries, but the army remained the real political power.

Europe was divided into two regions: the eastern and the central states remained absolutist, the West had become parliamentary. The former alliance was cut into two leagues: on the one hand, France and England, which worked in unison until the Eastern affair of 1840, and on the other the coalition of the three autocratic monarchies. Revolutions in Switzerland continued until the defeat of the Sonderbund Catholics and the adoption of the federal constitution of 1848, which established democratic republican government all over Switzerland. In England this was a time of great agitations, political, industrial, Chartist, and Irish,—huge peaceful demonstrations which failed to accomplish any reform. The rest of Europe was almost stationary from 1835 to 1847, and France fell back toward a personal constitutional government.

This calm was the decisive period of preparation for the parties and ideas which filled the remainder of the century. Two new parties were formed, of an international character: the Catholic party and the Socialist (communist) party, sprung from the former political parties, but no longer regarding politics as anything but a means of carrying into effect a general scheme of religious and social reorganization. The Catholic party, including the mass of conservatives, especially the peasants, who had

hitherto been inert, laboured to restore the public authority of the Church. The socialist party, recruited among the democrats, demanded universal suffrage, but only as a means of accomplishing a *social* revolution. At the same time nationalist parties were forming all over central Europe—Austria, Germany, and Italy. Founded as they were on hatred of foreigners and on community of language, incorrectly termed *race*, they attracted together patriots of all kinds, from the aristocratic monarchists to the democratic republicans. But they joined the political opposition parties against the governments and became revolutionists.

The revolution of 1848 in France, carried through by a socialist party working in the shelter of the democratic and parliamentary parties, brought into power a coalition of democrats and socialists which, at a single stroke, established in France the complete democratic system: a republic, universal suffrage, a sovereign elective assembly, a popular national guard, liberty of the press by the abolition of financial restrictions, and freedom of political clubs. The first attempts at socialistic reform, the right to employment and national workshops, which the socialist minority imposed, disappeared in the suppression of the socialist insurrection of June.

The French revolution set the example for a general democratic movement in central Europe; the governments, alarmed by the sudden agitation and overestimating the practical power of the revolutionists, either let the popular revolution proceed or resigned themselves to making one in their own name. The Kingdom of the Netherlands passed from a constitutional to a parliamentary system, Denmark from an absolutist to a constitutional system. In Germany, both in Prussia and in Austria, the revolution produced new democratic forms, universal suffrage, equality before the law, a constituent assembly, popular publications and clubs, without touching the monarchy or the army. It was combined with a nationalist movement for German unity which hesitated between two forms: a democratic federation or an empire under the King of Prussia. In the Austrian Empire, the revolution was democratic in Austria proper, but nationalist in the Magyar, Slav, and Italian sections. In Italy the Kingdom of Sardinia adopted the constitutional system, with a very extended suffrage, and took the direction of the nationalist movement against Austria; the democratic republicans in 1849 established republics in central Italy.

The reaction was brought about by the armies, which were still intact and at the sovereign's service; they crushed the democratic party in the large cities. Begun by the Emperor of Austria, with the aid of the Slavs, against the Germans and Magyars, continued by the King of Prussia, first in his own kingdom, then in Germany, it was completed in Italy by foreign armies, in Hungary with the aid of the Russian army, in Germany by the Tsar's threats, and in the duchies in 1850 by European intervention. In France a domestic reaction brought a Napoleon to the executive power, then the Catholic conservative party to the legislative power; after having worked together against the democratic party they entered into a conflict with each other, which ended in the Empire; France fell back into the military absolutist system. Spain, under constitutional forms, returned to personal government.

The governments, having learned a lesson from revolution, organized an alliance of all conservative forces, including the bourgeoisie, which was disturbed by the socialist movement, and the Pope, who was alarmed by the Roman Republic. The repressive measures taken against the revolutionary parties and their instruments, the press and public meetings, deprived all the parties of political power, even the parliamentarians. The absolutist system then extended all over Europe, except Switzerland and the countries which had remained outside of the revolution of 1848, England, Belgium, Holland, and Norway. The absolutist calm reigned ten years, interrupted only in Spain by a local revolution in 1854, which restored the constitutional system.

But the revolution of 1848 left a change in three states: in France, universal suffrage and the official doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; in Prussia, the Constitution of 1850, which, from its Belgian model and its revolutionary origin, retained the theory of liberties and an almost universal suffrage; in Sardinia the *Statuto* of 1848, which established semi-parliamentary government, an almost democratic property qualification, and the system of the lay state. Further, the unsuccessful attempts at national unity had left in Sardinia the desire to accomplish Italian unity, in Prussia the desire to accomplish German unity, and Napoleon, formerly a revolutionist, remained personally in favour of the "policy of nationality." Napoleon first joined England, checked the Tsar, and took the opportunity afforded by the settlement of the Eastern question to sketch the national Roumanian state and bring up the Italian question. Then the

three revolutionary governments combined against Austria, the conservative power that was hindering the unity of Italy and Germany. In 1859 Napoleon, with his army, aided Sardinia to begin the Italian union, by beginning to drive Austria out of Italy; in 1866, by his neutrality, he helped Prussia to begin the German union by driving Austria out of Germany. Both unions were completed by the defeat of France in 1870.

The first nationalist war in 1859 ended the reactionary period. The absolutist system, which had been in practice since 1849, was no longer defended in theory; the educated public still disapproved of the French idea of democratic revolution, but it was permeated with English liberalism and enamoured of *self-government* and aristocratic representative institutions. Within ten years there came all over Europe, aided by the governments, a revival of liberalism which produced a general transformation in political institutions. From these peaceful revolutions has resulted the Europe of to-day.

England, by the electoral reform of 1867, succeeded to a democratic parliamentary system. France, by a series of concessions from the Emperor, secured a constitutional government approaching the parliamentary system, almost liberal and completely democratic.

Austria, under the pressure of financial distress, adopted a constitutional system with an aristocratic suffrage, "the representation of interests." She then went through a crisis of conflicts between the predominating Germans, who wished to preserve the centralized system, and the subordinate nationalities, Magyars, Czechs, Poles, and Slovenians, who joined the old-*régime* parties, aristocracy and clergy, in the demand for federalism. The final settlement was accomplished by separation into two states united toward foreign nations: Hungary, which revived the aristocratic parliamentary system established during the revolution of 1848; Austria, which retained the centralized constitutional system, with ascendency of the German element and a withdrawal of power from the clergy.

In Prussia, after long conflict with the parliamentary party, the conservative ministry, from 1862 to 1866, took advantage of its military victories to establish, as a compromise, a military constitutional system which left the ruling power to the King and his ministers. In Germany, it established, in 1867, the union under a common constitutional government with democratic suffrage, monarchical-democratic military service on the Prussian

model, and the sovereignty of the King of Prussia and the Chancellor. The creation of the Empire in 1871 brought all the German states into this union. Each preserved its constitutional system, government by officials under more or less control by assemblies elected on a semi-democratic suffrage.

Italy, where the way for national unity was prepared by agreement between the revolutionary government of Sardinia and the republicans, was created by successive annexations of all the Italian states to the kingdom of Sardinia—annexations effected with the formal consent of the inhabitants and in spite of the Pope's protests. She preserved her constitutional system, which, thanks to the abstention of the Catholic conservatives, developed into a parliamentary and democratic system under the direction of the Southern Radicals.

Even Russia, which had hitherto kept out of the political evolution, was transformed by the reforms of Alexander II., freedom of the serfs, creation of local assemblies, and liberal reforms in justice and press which prepared the way for a Russian nation and the formation of a public opinion to serve as a check on the Tsar's personal government. The Poles, encouraged by the feeling through Europe, attempted a nationalist and democratic insurrection; but the European governments dared not give them armed support. The movement was put down in the name of the unity of the Slavic race. In the midst of a general evolution toward liberty, Poland returned to a system of national and religious repression.

Denmark, separated from the duchies by the war, finally issued from the constitutional crisis begun in 1848, adopting, in 1866, a constitutional democratic system with the effective power vested in the King, as was shown by the constitutional conflict from 1886 to 1892. Sweden transformed her old assembly of estates into a modern parliament, and entered upon the democratic constitutional system.

The new Christian states detached from the Ottoman Empire were transformed by European example. Greece, by a revolution in 1862, completed the change from the constitutional system to the democratic parliamentary system with a single house (Greece having no aristocracy). Roumania also got rid of her personal government by a revolution in 1866 and entered upon an almost parliamentary and still aristocratic system. Servia, a nation of peasants, still under the personal system, received, during a regency, a democratic monarchical constitution.

Spain, owing to a military revolution in 1868, began a rapid evolution, which brought her out of a lay parliamentary monarchy with universal suffrage into a federalist democratic republic after the American pattern; a military restoration in 1874 brought her back to a constitutional monarchy, ruled by the ministry and clergy.

Switzerland, by a series of cantonal revisions, organized the first experiment in direct legislation by the whole body of citizens.

The absolutist system, eliminated from central Europe, confined itself to the two Eastern empires—taking in Russia the form of a bureaucratic monarchy, in the Ottoman Empire the form of personal despotism. After having been, in 1815 and in 1852, the universal system, it has come to be an outgrown survival. The liberal system became the normal government in Europe, under democratic parliamentary form in the west, and constitutional form in the centre. The governments themselves summoned the liberal parties to share the power. Under this system of political liberty the democratic parties were reconstituted: in France a radical republican party, in Italy a radical party supporting the monarchy, in Germany a socialist party, in the Scandinavian countries a peasants' party.

The two international parties, Catholic and Socialist, reappeared in the struggle. The Catholic party, once more thrown on the defensive by the new lay policy of the governments, affirmed its resistance to revolution in 1864 by protests from the Pope against the Kingdom of Italy and against modern liberties. It engaged in a general conflict with the governments concerning the rights of the Church, losing ground everywhere except in Belgium, but bracing itself to maintain the political struggle. The Socialist party, reconstituted by the survivors of 1848, after an attempt at international association, took the form of national parties organized under a permanent management with a socialist democratic program. It took this course first in Germany, where it occupied the place of a radical party, then in the other countries.

Meanwhile the balance of power in Europe was overturned by war.

Prussia, hitherto a secondary power, had preserved from her wars against Napoleon, a monarchical-democratic military service, which, combined with intelligent tactics and perfected arma-

ment, gave her military supremacy in Germany in 1866, in Europe in 1870.

The war of 1870 ended the crisis of nationalist wars. Germany, supreme in Europe, has obliged the other states to adopt her military system and has put a stop to war by making it horrible. By annexing Alsace-Lorraine, she created between herself and France a permanent hostility which reduces the whole foreign policy of Europe to a game of diplomatic combinations for the preservation of peace. All warlike action has related to the Orient and has been practically outside of Europe. The jealousy of the European powers has prevented a rational solution of the Eastern question. The Turkish problem has, however, been geting gradually, if incompletely, solved by the formation of Christian states. These, under political forms borrowed from Europe, are still agitated by the rivalry for influence among the powers and by the conflict between European civilization and national tradition.

War has ceased. The perfect police system and the vast military power of the governments have made revolutions impossible. Each state has therefore remained steadfast in the form of government it had when the military transformation took place; the governments, taking heart from their power, have stopped the evolution from the constitutional to the parliamentary system. France alone was able to overthrow the Empire, which had lost its armies, and has established a democratic parliamentary system in which, after long conflict with the Catholic monarchical parties, the Radical party acquired control in 1879, and is slowly paving the way for direct representative government. The other states have preserved their former system, parliamentary in the west, constitutional in the centre.

The nationalist parties in central Europe, Germany, Italy, and Hungary, have weakened the opposition by going over to the support of the new national governments. But the internal evolution, though slower, has continued peacefully, and the political parties have undergone a gradual transformation which has led them little by little toward democracy. The governments have abandoned the absolutist system; the conservative party has been obliged to follow them and has slipped into the place left by the liberal constitutional party. The parliamentary party, unable to support restricted suffrage, has approached the democratic pro-

gram. The two intermediary parties of the liberal middle class have thus been almost entirely absorbed, the constitutional into the conservative party, the parliamentary into the democratic party. Norway has profited by its lack of an army and by its revolutionary Constitution of 1814, to force the King to accept a democratic parliamentary system. In England, the Liberals, disorganized by their alliance with the Irish party, have been merged with the Radicals. In Belgium the old liberal party, faithful to the plan of a property qualification for voting, was swept away after the establishment of universal suffrage, which was extorted from the Chambers by the threat of a revolution by the workingmen. In France, Italy, and Germany the former parliamentary parties, being unable to sustain electoral competition with the democratic radical parties, have been reduced to mere remnants. Europe has now practically but two parties, conservative and democratic, but these are much farther apart than the parties so named in 1815. The evolution which has brought the conservatives on the old liberal platform has also pushed the liberals toward democracy. Bismarck and William II., Disraeli, Napoleon III., and the Count of Paris have given the new watchword of "democratic monarchy," whose ideal is the personal government of the sovereign resting on the traditional devotion of the people. Permanent harmony between the prince who directs the nation's policy and the subjects who ratify his acts, is to be maintained by universal suffrage.

The two international parties, Catholic and socialist, have taken a permanent place in political life and begun to leaven with their principles the old political parties. The conservative party tends to lose itself in the Catholic party or to ally itself with it in the Protestant countries, in order to restore the conservative power of the Church. The democratic party is impregnated with socialistic ideas and, in the countries where its own program is exhausted, tends to replenish it with plans of social reform.

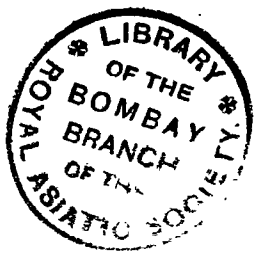
All parties thus tend, as in Belgium, to concentrate into two masses, one conservative, the other democratic, both of which tend to draw their theoretic inspiration from the doctrines of the two extreme wings, for which politics is but a means. Now these two extremes show in their doctrine, and apply with logical vigour in their own organization, two radically opposed conceptions which they strive to introduce into political life: the Church remains faithful to the absolutist tradition of sovereign

authority emanating from above and exercised by chiefs invested with sacred authority; the socialists, according to democratic principles, admit only an authority delegated from below to chosen mandatories. But the practical direction of political life rests everywhere with the intermediary parties, parliamentarians or liberal conservatives, business parties, occupied with practical affairs rather than with doctrine. These intermediary parties, deadening the shock between two opposite conceptions, maintain, in the midst of ardent polemics, a social peace and liberty which Europe has never known before.

A natural tendency to attribute great effects to great causes leads us to explain political evolution, like geological evolution, by deep and continuous forces, more far-reaching than individual actions. The history of the nineteenth century accords ill with this idea.

England, Norway, and Sweden alone have gone through a regular political evolution, produced by continuous internal development. The rest of Europe, from 1814 to 1870, suffered sudden crises caused by sudden events: 1. The revolution of 1830, which destroyed the European alliance against revolution, implanted the parliamentary system in the West and prepared the field for the rise of the Catholic and socialist parties; 2. the revolution of 1848, which brought universal suffrage into general practice, prepared the way for the national unity of central Europe, and organized the socialist and Catholic parties; 3. the war of 1870, which created the German Empire, made it supreme in Europe, destroyed the temporal power of the Pope, changed the character of warfare, and established the system of armed peace.

The revolution of 1830 was the work of a group of obscure republicans, aided by the blunders of Charles X. The revolution of 1848 was the work of certain democratic and socialist agitators, aided by Louis Philippe's sudden lack of nerve. The war of 1870 was the personal work of Bismarck, prepared by Napoleon III.'s personal policy. For these three unforeseen facts no general cause can be discerned in the intellectual, economic, or political condition of the continent of Europe. It was three accidents that determined the political evolution of modern Europe.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